

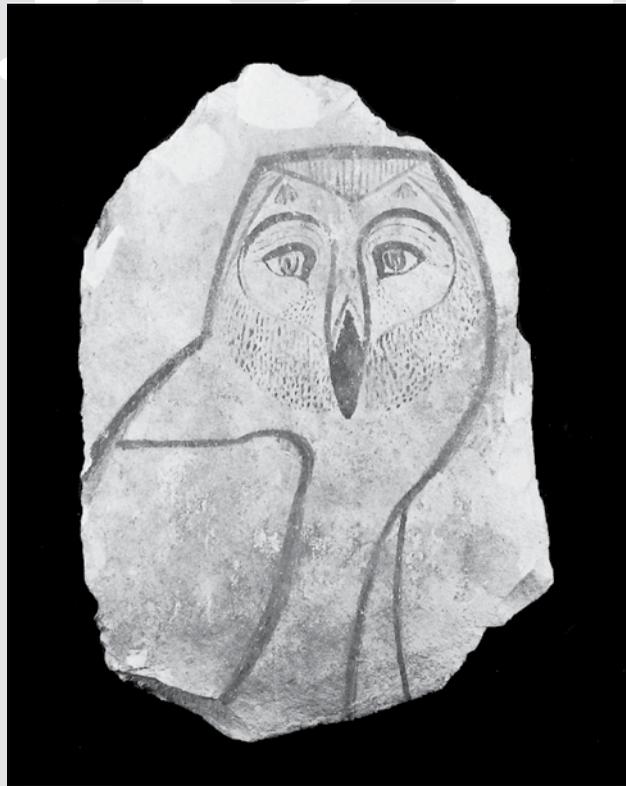


PIHANS • XLV

## EGYPTIAN ARTISTS' SKETCHES

FIGURED OSTRAKA FROM THE GAYER-ANDERSON COLLECTION  
IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

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sous la direction de

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EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT



NEDERLANDS HISTORISCH-ARCHAEOLOGISCH INSTITUUT  
TE ISTANBUL  
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## PREFACE

During my visit to the Fitzwilliam Museum in autumn, 1972 Mr.R.V. Nicholls, the Keeper of Antiquities, suggested that I publish the figured ostraka from the Gayer-Anderson collection and I readily assented. In a few days I was able to work through the forty-six pieces there, that is to sketch and describe them and transcribe the few texts on them. Professor A.A. Kampman offered me the opportunity to have the publication appear in the series "Publications de l'Institut Historique et Archæologique Néerlandais de Stamboul" which was in his charge, and his successor Dr.E.van Donzel later carried the project to completion.

It was mutually agreed to publish the work in English and to compose a broader introduction to the catalogue both in order to make the work accessible to a wider circle of interested readers, in particular the visitors to the Fitzwilliam, and, at the same time, to profer a guide to the Museum's display of ostraka. The introduction is intended to provide general information on the painted ostraka and to survey the important group of scenes showing representations of animal fables which are pre-eminently, though not exclusively, met with on the figured ostraka. The discussion is necessary because this class of scenes was assigned to Stockholm in the division of the Gayer-Anderson collection and, largely by accident, is represented in Cambridge by only one example. A reader, judging by the range of this collection, would not be aware of a significant group scenes. Dr.van Donzel's generosity has met this problem by allowing examples from other sources to illustrate this part of text.

Every item in the catalogue is reproduced in a photograph and in a line drawing where necessary. I owe the drawings to the skilled hand of Frau Johanna Dittmar. The catalogue is intended to provide an analysis of the subjects depicted and their interpretation, with references to the secondary literature. Where doubt or controversy arises, I have not repeated what has already been written, since this may be found by reference to my own publications or those works cited in the bibliography, but I have expanded the discussion where necessary to take in those questions overlooked in other publications. Since this small volume is intended as a guide to the ostraka in the Fitzwilliam for the use of the museum visitor, not only the Egyptologist, I have added a

brief explanatory word or phrase to the name of a god or goddess which the specialist will find superfluous. Similarly, date and provenance, except in case calling for particular comment, are given only in approximate terms.

Miss Janine Bourriau, Assistant Keeper in the Department of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam, has checked the language of my English introduction, translated the catalogue into English, confirmed the details on some of the drawings and most readily and kindly answered my queries.

To all the colleagues named above, I offer my heartiest thanks.

Emma Brunner-Traut  
Tübingen

## INTRODUCTION

### *Figured Ostraka*

Ostrakon, the Greek term for potsherd, as used in Egyptological studies, is applied to sherds of pottery or flat limestone flakes, which were used as a cheap writing or drawing material. In Egyptian, the word used for them is ndr, nd;



= splinter, break, sherd. The literal meaning is fragments, but they are whole works of art.

The Egyptians collected flakes of limestone from the foot of cliffs, where they had accumulated as a result of surface erosion due to the action of the sun and sudden changes in temperature, and the collected from town rubbish heaps the remnants of broken clay jars. These writing materials, comparable to the slates used by school children, replaced the precious papyrus in everyday life. They were in use from the beginnings of history up to recent times and are found all along the Nile Valley, from Giza down to the southern frontier. They are particularly common, however, at Deir el-Medīna, the workmen's village in southern Thebes, where the stonemasons, the painters and the sculptors who were employed in excavating and decorating royal tombs lived with their families. There, in this small necropolis settlement, surrounded by the desert and cut off from the rest of the world, as if in a ghetto, thousands of ostraka were found on the rubbish heaps. The first were found by Schiaparelli (now in the Turin Museum), and Moeller (in the Berlin Museum), and others later in French excavations under Bruyère. The majority of the ostraka are datable to the 18th - 20st Dynasties, the period when the artists were working on the tombs of the kings.

Generally, ostraka were inscribed in hieratic script. Later they bore demotic texts, and ultimately were used for Greek, Coptic and Arabic records. Usually, these brief inscriptions represent bills, letters, labour diaries, lists of absentees from work, or inventories. Occasionally, longer literary texts were entrusted to these ephemeral writing tablets. Wisdom texts as well as love songs are encountered among them, usually as examples in students exercises.

Alongside these ostraka with texts, we find quite a different class: the figured ostraka or pictorial sherds - examples of the artist's craft which represent a unique and precious treasure of original works of art. Their special qual-

ity stems from several sources: they are the bearers of themes and motives that do not appear in official art and, because they allow a measure of freedom to the artist, these small documents have developed their own particular style. Finally, they permit us a glimpse into the artist's workshop, so that we can learn something of his techniques and training.

Many designs ostraka are now to be found in the collections of the museums of Cairo, Turin, Berlin and Stockholm and to a lesser extent at Brussels, New York, London, Paris, Cambridge and in smaller collections. The Cairo ostraka were the first to be published, by G. Daressy in Volume I of the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum. The Berlin material has been published, together with other ostraka in German museums and collections by myself. The material excavated by the French, the vast majority of which is now on show in the Egyptian National Museum and the Louvre has been published by J. Vandier d'Abbadie and the stock of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm by B.E.F. Peterson, while part of the Turin finds have been published by S. Curto. A remarkable collection from Brussels was published by M. Werbrouck, and L. Keimer has published several studies of specific subjects occurring on ostraka. Some examples in the Metropolitan Museum in New York have been published by W.C. Hayes, while the rest are still awaiting study.

The flakes are, on an average, palm-sized, but individual examples range from small chips to slabs almost a metre in length. Fragments of regular shape were preferred, and more important, those with a smooth surface, but even a cracked surface and an angular shape did not deter the artist from using them. Sometimes the stone's actual shape seems to have inspired the artist, e.g. where a long piece of stone is used to depict a crocodile, and the edges were only rarely trimmed. However, where the ostraka were used to depict religious scenes, they were not only carefully chosen, but the edges were usually smoothed and trimmed. Often both sides of the stones were used and cases are found where one side is used more than once (palimpsest) - the "stones"? - yes, it is permissible to refer to them as "stones", since potsherds are less in evidence than limestone fragments. Occasionally, pebbles were also used, but for general use, they were too dense, in the same way as potsherds were too porous. Limestone had the right surface for the purpose and was used everywhere in the tombs of the necropolis so that the artists were familiar with the material.

The ostraka usually bear designs and figures in paint; only a few were used for relief work. They illustrate every stage from a novice's first timid attempts at scribbling up to the most elaborate draughtsmanship, and there are also sculptors' trial pieces. The painted ostraka show pictures in black outline, and it would be more appropriate to refer to them as drawings. Occasionally there is an underlying sketch in red paint, as in larger paintings; and pieces with a first sketch in yellow, underlying the final drawing, are even rarer. A minority were coloured and these were mostly religious scenes, such as poor men painted for themselves or had painted, to use in place of a large stela.

The instruments and materials used for ostraka painting were the same as those used for large murals: mineral tempera paints (distempers) and the Egyptian writing brush, made of the stem of a rush. Usually the two colours, black and red, that the artist had on their scribe's palette, were sufficient. By making use of the light background of the stone itself they managed, with these modest means to achieve rich colouring effects. Additional colours were used, where the artist wished to indicate something more complex, to indicate, for example, the materials of which an object was made, foreign races, emblems or perhaps symbols. Colour was used to emphasize, to underline, to explain and to create contrasts. The colours used were always primary colours and the subjects were rendered naturalistically, in so far as colour, which occurs in nature can be represented by a primary shade.

Under Amenophis III, a start was made in breaking the convention of placing colours side by side, and it was permitted to allow colours to flow into each other, though in the technical not in the chemical sense: one colour is allowed to flow over to the neighbouring one by means of fine strokes. Painting with broken colours first appears in the Amarna period. The sketches are the product of the moment, there are no corrections to be discerned. Where corrections do occur, it seems that they are those of teachers on their pupils' work.

After having outlined the outward shape, the origin and the technical treatment of the flakes, we are finally approaching the central question: the themes of the scenes. As a general rule, one can say that all the themes of large paintings are recapitulated, though not to their full extent. On the other hand, the ostraka offer motives and themes that do not appear in official art, themes, especially, which have

no place in tomb painting and illustrate a fascinating aspect of the culture: scenes depicting the "lying-in-chamber" (*ḳꜣ m.t nfr.t*)<sup>1)</sup> (Fig.1) and those illustrating "animal stories" (see p. 11 ff.).

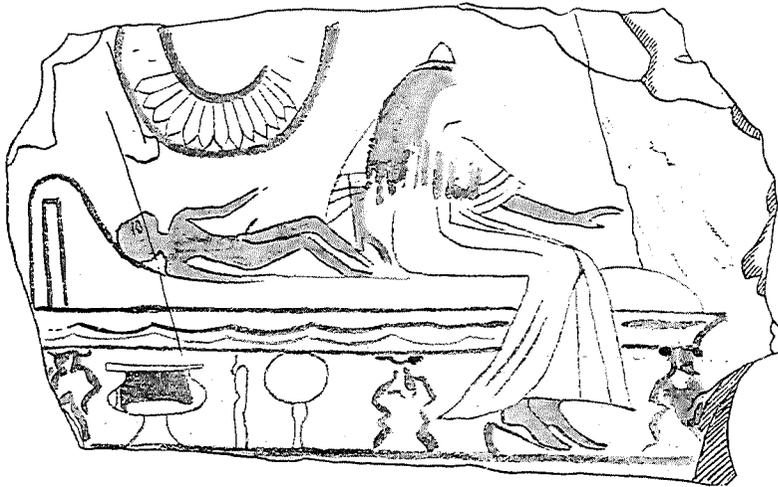


Fig.1

Before the scenes on ostraka were studied, nothing or only the vaguest ideas existed about these two subjects. Both themes reveal one fundamental fact, that the ostraka are able to throw light on the more intimate spheres of life. On the other hand, this should not be understood to mean that these themes were necessarily restricted to figured ostraka. On the contrary, it will be shown that these examples belong to a part of the corpus of mural paintings, that has been lost together with the buildings they once decorated. All the more precious therefore, are these small documents, exposing what no spade could have uncovered.



Fig.2

Exclusively represented on ostraka are several erotic scenes that have been studied by Keimer. The Egyptian, outwardly excelling in chastity and proper behaviour, only surreptitiously gave expression to these products of a high-spirited imagination.

Otherwise the scenes depicted lead us through the realm of the gods, showing individual gods, as well as mythological scenes, holy shrines and barks. Royal personages are depicted while hunting, kneeling in ritual sacrifice, as triumphant victors, as sphinxes, or as the Prince with his finger on his lips, the gesture of the child. Only on ostraka do we see kings with stubbly chins, i.e. in mourning. (Fig.3). In addition to the presentation of individual male and female figures, or their heads, we find pictures of harp players, girls in boats, dancers and musicians, bird-catchers and there is one example of a girl swimming and fishing. These scenes may reflect the love life of the young, as certain texts show, and are, therefore, particularly suited for ostraka. We are conducted into the tender world of the idyll by the picture of a girl playing with a cat, or that of a crying boy, warding off a pig that disturbs his food. Neither sports nor games are missing, nor cattle-raising, nor the



Fig.3

life of the shepherd and of the peasant. It would take too long to list here all activities that are spread before our eyes.

Strangers are also depicted, among whom the Princess of Punt occupies the highest rank.

Holy animals placed on pedestals and worshipped by praying people, domesticated cattle as well as desert game have their place among the fauna depicted. In the drawings of horses one can see the experiments made by artists to cope with a still unfamiliar subject, only lately introduced into their repertory. The grasshopper, the cock and the chameleon are more unusual motives.

There are in addition representations of plants and objects, sketches of buildings and architectural elements, building plans and sketches for the decoration of chests, lists of furniture and drawing exercises.

With this last mentioned group we are approaching the question of the purpose of these figured ostraka - a question linked to that of the identity of the men who made them. As pointed out at the outset, the flakes served both as a cheap substitute for the precious papyrus, and as we shall see later, as funary monuments. The artists used them for drafts, in the planning of large murals and, vice versa, for copying large murals, and for sketches made while talking, or just notes. Pupils used ostraka for their painting exercises following models supplied by the teachers. All this has been proved by the contexts in which ostraka have been found, by the type of scenes or by key words in inscriptions. Whether the large group of animal scenes also appeared in larger paintings cannot be said. According to Phaedrus (in Latin, see p.18), Roman taverns were decorated with such caricatures. It is left to us to assume that the Egyptians made the same use of them. A Coptic example comes, as a matter of fact, from mural paintings (see p.14).

Finally, the ostraka had an independent function, being a modest substitute for stelae. (Fig.4). They were dedicated to the gods as votive tablets and must be assumed to have been set up in the workmen's chapels in the Theban necropolis. Frequently they serve to worship the local Snake Goddess, Meretseger, who - residing on the top of the hill overlooking the necropolis - was placated to ward off the misfortune of snakebite. In addition, Ptah and Thoth are frequently invoked, being the patrons of artists and scribes respectively, as also was Amun, the Great One of Thebes, es-

pecially in his popular shape of a goose, a he-goat or a ram. He is one of the main figures in this pantheon. However, representations of the universally worshipped Sun God are not uncommon. Noteworthy also is the figure of the naked goddess on horseback, probably Astarte.



Fig.4

In all these examples, the ostraka were in hand of the artist. He picked them up and used them, as we use our notebooks today. But they were also used by art students, who were either attached to a master as his assistant (*hry-c*) or grouped together in school "classes", held for example at Thebes in the Ramesseum in the Northern Colonnade of the 11th-Dynasty Temple of Deir el-bahri, and, of course, at Deir el-Medîna itself.

Fortunately we possess a well preserved picture of such an art lesson (Theban Tomb 368): it shows the students, sitting on low stools and exercising on their slates, the teachers above them supervising their work. There are flakes entirely covered with exercises for one single letter (*nb* or *t*), or one single hieroglyph, and others showing unsuccessful attempts at a pictorial theme. These scribal exercises are, in some cases, finished off with an eye<sup>2</sup>) (unfortunately it is

not the *ptr-* but the *wḏ<sub>3</sub>.t-eye*) so that one cannot help assuming that the teacher had ticked off his pupils' work - a procedure which may be the precursor of the "vidi" of our teachers, now abbreviated in the form of a "tick".

Of particular interest are three sherds, showing the king on his throne - probably Sethos I.<sup>3)</sup> One of the ostraka is well executed, the other crudely done, and the third only half finished. This type attests to the fact, evidence of which is supplied elsewhere, that several pupils were given one subject at the same time and that there existed therefore something like a school.

The teachers were painters (*sš qḏw.t*), some of them known by name from Deir el-Medīna. It is the ostraka, principally the inscribed examples, that have brought back to flourishing life a town three and a half thousand years dead. They tell us of conflicts between neighbours, of the distribution of laundry, the rent for a donkey, and the legacy of a pauper, of love affairs, of the roguery of a foreman, and of nightly brawls between drinking companions, and of the theft of a copper kettle, solved by the oracle of Amenophis I. The legends, found on the figured ostraka or rather on the ostraka-stelae, also do their share to improve our knowledge.

Finally there are drawings which are the inspirations of the moment, such as the checkerboard on a limestone flake from Abydos, probably sketched out by labourers, wanting a game during a rest period. Literary texts suggest also that storytellers made sketches during the recital of a story.

Scenes on ostraka have, therefore, a preponderantly ephemeral character, and are executed rather carelessly, or in haste. This feature characterises their style. As we know, Egyptian art is exceedingly tradition-bound, and the types depicted remain unchanged for generations. Strict schooling, long study and selfdiscipline are the indispensable preconditions for artistic success. Every line, the painter drew at Deir el-Medīna speaks of one and a half thousand years of unrelenting training. Even charming scenes of play illustrating the gaiety of life - as reproduced in tombs, these buildings for eternity - is sucked into the maelstrom of solemn severity. In contrast, the ostraka - destined ultimately for the rubbish heap - are playful scribbles, children of the moment, and, therefore, irreplaceably delightful. Naturally, the figured ostraka shared in developing styles in great art. But they show the other side of Egyptian artistic ability, otherwise unknown, the ephemeral side.

This freedom, however, does not imply that the artists had given up the path of aspective representation. The aspective (in contrast to perspective)<sup>4)</sup> principle is the basis from which the Egyptians of the time could not deviate. They could do so no more than our children can ignore their mental age. It does not follow from this that Egyptian work should be considered to be in the same category as drawings of children. Egyptian art, in the clearest contrast to the hesitant attempts of children, is a great art, which perhaps nowhere ever again will be equalled. Masterpieces exist no less in the small sketches on ostraka than in the large-scale art of graves and temples.

The drawings unfold a rich tableau of themes, but, as we have said above, protected by their private character, their style is more lighthearted and free. Since they depict semiofficial subjects, they enlarge considerably our knowledge of cultural, social and religious life. This is visible particularly in the illustrations of stories and, in the following pages, we will examine this idea more fully.

*Animal Stories*

A large number of ostraka show representations of animals, posed, dressed, and acting as human beings. These scenes are claimed to be illustrations of animal stories,<sup>5)</sup> such as all illiterate people enjoy, partly for their obvious comedy, partly for their naive didacticism, and finally for the opportunity they give, by transferring animals into the world of men, for the expression of social criticism by the lower ranks of society. An examination of the role of such stories in Egyptian society is possible because of the existence of these figured ostraka. Although the relevant source-material is much broader, the ostraka provide us with the key.

Animal scenes are found principally on ostraka, although the three "Satirical Papyri" of the museums of London, Turin and Cairo have been known for a long time and are possibly the oldest "comic strips" of world history. Their themes recur in connection with other objects of art, mainly toys and scarabs. Recently a small scene has been published, found on the back of a Bes-Crown in Faience.<sup>6)</sup> It is rare that a document of official art exhibits scenes of this kind: a Temple Relief from Madâmûd, column capitals at Philae and a slate palette, the so-called large "Animal Palette" of Oxford, showing a jackal playing a flute, are exceptions.

Although animal scenes can be followed through the entire course of history up to the earliest times (the slate palette), they are most common on the ostraka of the Rameside Period, from Deir el-Medîna, probably due to an accident of preservation.

The themes are so many and so varied that they can only be presented here in a brief summary. They cover a wide field: fighting, worship, music, dance, courts of justice, the harbour, the "lying-in-chamber", checker and ball games, the brewing of beer, gardening, herding and other physical labour.

The war of the mice against the cats is a subject that is extraordinarily richly documented. The cats serve the mice as slaves, provide them with their food and drink, fanning cool air to the Mouse-Dames, offering them flowers, doing their hair or carrying their young in their breast-shawls. This theme has been handed down to us in numerous variations.

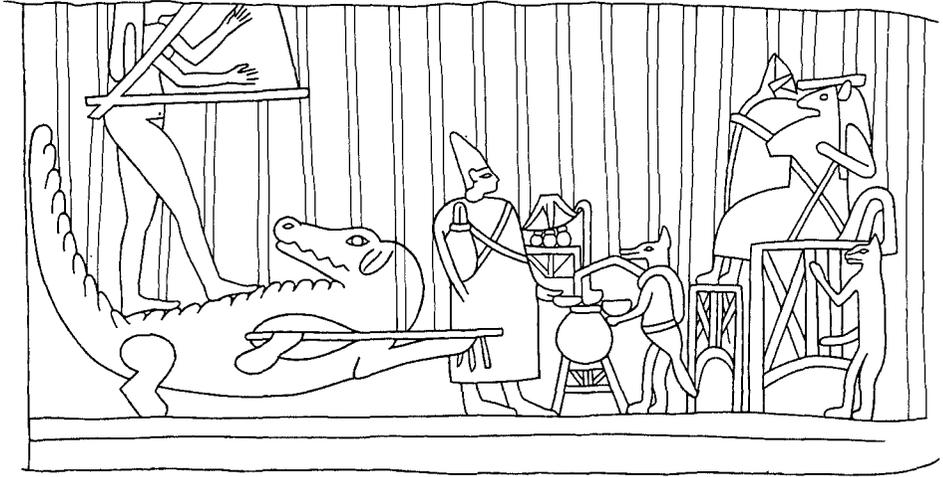


Fig.5

Other animals also serve Dame Mouse, for instance, the crocodile plays the lute to her, foxes serenade her, or monkeys sing to the accompaniment of the harp at the foot of her throne. Without claiming to have given even an outline of all the themes used, let us turn to the religious ceremonies. A Mouse-God is being carried in procession by jackal-priests to a chapel-shrine while other jackal-priests are burning incense and reciting the ritual. The Mouse receives the sacrifice of cat and goat. Elsewhere a donkey is being worshipped by cattle and cats, and there are scenes of a dog visiting the temple, and of a fox sacrificing an animal underneath a tree.

On other ostraka we see the monkey as a musician and singer with a harp, double oboe, flute, lute, cymbal and lyre. On others we see a lion and a crocodile with a lyre and a harp. The number of these scenes is immense. The quartet shown in the Turin Papyrus might have inspired the tale of the "Musicians of Bremen". The lion and the gazelle are playing checkers; two monkeys are doing the same while a mouse is playing ball. While it seems to us quite proper that a hippopotamus should knead dough in a trough, as part of the preparation of beer, a yoke for a cat is far from appropri-

ate. A monkey shown carrying water to the fields may reflect reality as monkeys were, apparently, used as men's helpers, but that the cunning little fellow should also be able to do the accounts for grain, this is stretching our imagination too far. Cats are shown busy in the kitchen, and the lion enjoying his jug of beer.

Scenes from the "Topsy-Turvy-World" form a separate group. Cats are there shown tending geese, foxes and lambs, and a bird painfully climbs the steps of a ladder to ascend a tree, while a Falstavian hippopotamus hops from branch to branch to gather figs. The more serious side of life is also illustrated. Delinquents are carried off to prison in fetters, with their possessions on their backs, and receive a thrashing in court. It is again the mouse - as judge - that dominates the scene while the cat gives the ordained thrashing. This lively scene, of which three versions exist (in Cairo, Brooklyn and Stockholm), is only one - except for a relief from Madâmûd whose interpretation remains a little obscure - in which a human being appears alongside the animals.

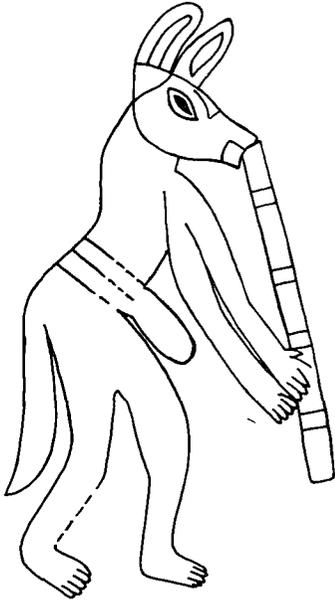


Fig.6

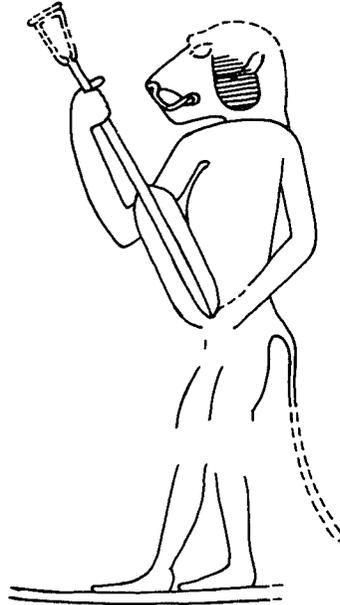


Fig.7

In two versions, the man (a Nubian) is beaten by Cat, in the third the Nubian gives the cat a good thrashing. But the mouse never relinquishes her office of judge. Those who deliver the blows are , in other scenes, the dog, the gazelle,

and, more often, the cat again. Some of the court cases are also settled by arbitration and the animals are seen in earnest deliberation. So much for a cursory outline of the subjects shown.

How should all this be interpreted? The pictures of the Topsy-Turvy-World may be just tomfoolery. They might, however, represent scenes from the "Land of Cockaigne" - an earthly paradise, or the anarchic period of the New Year Festival, whose existence is - in contrast to Mesopotamia - scarcely documented for Egypt.

In some of the scenes there is a hint of social criticism, (jackals carrying an Animal God in procession). Most of them are, however, probably illustrations of fables which - as exemplified by the War of the Cats and Mice - have epic features and may provide the origin of the *Batrachomyomachia*, the Greek animal epic. Others may be scenes from simple fairy tales or animal fables, they may represent humorous sketches, jokes, or proverbs. The precise class of narrative to which they belong cannot always be determined in each case, but it is clear that these scenes do belong to a definite class. The scenes of animals, raucously shouting, gesticulating, acting and talking clearly appear in a rough consecutive order.

To understand this better, let us return to the War of the Cats and Mice - a motive widespread in Egypt up to the present time, but which is also encountered all over the Near East in antiquity.<sup>7)</sup> Among the incidents of this fight that have been preserved we find the assault on a cat fortress launched by a Mouse-Pharaoh, duels between the two animal species, the surrender of the cats, their slave service under their mouse overlords; and, by contrast, the victory of the cats over mice. (This last-mentioned scene is found on a Coptic mural). The subjects occurs from the 14th century B.C. (19th Dynasty) down to the 7th and 8th century A.D., and has been preserved on ostraka as well as on papyri, in relief work and on wall paintings.

It should be possible to read from these scenes the course of the story of the war as documented in other texts: the war between the foes ends - after a temporary superiority of the mice - with a return to the course of nature, the cats remaining the overlords, while the mice, as before, retreat to their holes under the earth, frightened, fleeing and threatened.

Taha Hussein, in his autobiography "The Blind Boy", men-

tions this as a folk tale. Recently the same story was recorded on tape as a folk song (with refrain) at Assiut. As far as Istanbul and Aethiopia and Kordofan we encounter this charming little animal tale. To the east it has reached the river Ganges. Spoerri has argued that the Mickey Mouse films represent the renewed triumph of these ancient oriental parables of the superiority of the repressed. The animal war - like other animal fables - has found its way into western fairy stories via the Aesopica, Phaedrus, Babrius, and French and Spanish medieval literature, through Marie de France and La Fontaine.<sup>8)</sup>

In recent Egyptological studies, animal tales and fables are recognized as a common literary form. In earlier studies, before those stimulated by the ostraka found at Deir el-Medîna, the comic drawings on the so-called "Satirical Papyri" though widely known, were looked upon as casual products of a humorous imagination. They were enjoyed and put aside. Meanwhile, the stories themselves - though reconstructed in all their vigour on hypothetical grounds only - have been presented at several international Congresses, among them those of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, and have thus conquered the hearts and roused the interest of a wider public.

Taking the finds as a whole - with the exception of the pig and the sheep, an omission that may be accidental - the entire fauna of everyday life appears in them. The little animal actors are clad like men and equipped with human characteristics; they walk upright, and use man's language and gestures. They represent specific characters - in accordance with Egyptian aspective - though occasionally changing their roles. Depending on the particular situation, they may assume a different rank, but almost invariably the cat and the goat act the role of the servant, while the lion and the mouse are the overlords. The dog is sanctimonious, the goat dances merrily, the monkey is a jester, but a clever one, and similar Jacks-of-all-trades are the singers and musicians. And so the known world is stood on its head.

Before going closer into the themes of these scenes we must ask ourselves: how is it that none of these pleasing stories have been preserved in writing? Hundreds of pictures but no texts! Does this not make us wonder whether in Pharaonic times fables existed at all?

According to calculations by G. Posener, the files of the Temple of Neferirkare at Abusir, a relatively modest

shrine, harboured about 10,000 papyri, though no more than thirteen of them have come down to us, i.e. the 750th part or 0.133 per cent. Other calculations yield even more discouraging results. In spite of the favourable climate and the sand, writings by the people of ancient Egypt who so enthusiastically committed themselves to 'paper' have been handed down to us in a trifling number.

However, loss of the documents is probably not the reason why no texts of animal tales of the New Kingdom have been preserved; a vacuum exists through the nature of this kind of narrative. These animal stories are folk tales which - all over the world - are passed from the mouth but do not appear in the written literature. The animal tales of ancient Egypt were handed down as pictures. Everywhere where illiteracy prevails, people amuse themselves by making pictures. One thinks of the Nuremberg picture sheets, or the street singers of the past.

It may be said that the animal tales have been written down in the first Millenium: for example, the tale of the lion and the mouse, adopted by Aesop, which is retold not only in Western Europe but also on the Upper Nile; the fable of the mother cat and the mother vulture - a justification of "retaliation"; the one of the swallow and the sea for which there is a close parallel in the Indian tale of the sandpiper and the ocean; the dialogue between the seeing bird<sup>9)</sup> and the hearing bird in praise of the legal system of the Sun God, and the tale of the fairy-messenger bird that acts as mediator, occurs even in Paulus' descent to Hell. All these noble Egyptian animal fables are set out in demotic texts. Nor are they known only in later periods. On the contrary, as proved by two design ostraka, they were already in circulation in the Ramesside period.

On the other hand, these animal tales are bound together in one great myth and have thus become part of the literature. This myth - or rather, as classified by H. Junker, this "mythical legend" - is known as the "Legend of Tefnut", the underlying theme of which is the phenomenon of the shift to the south of the orbit of the sun, taking place in winter, and its return in spring. The Sun-Cat, Tefnut, who has set out from her home in Egypt to Upper Nubia, is, by order of her father, brought back by Thoth, the monkeyshaped messenger of the gods. But it is only by the most cunning use of persuasion that he is able to lure the wayward cat back to north. The tales with whose help the messenger-God manages to

sooth Tefnut, incandescent with rage, spitting fire and lightening, are the very animal tales we are studying here. In almost all of them there is a moral at the end, which reveals their relationship to fable.

But in other respects, the Egyptians' familiarity with our fables is clear. After all, the fable of the "head and the body" is the oldest version of the "Agrippa Legend" - as it is called in European school text books - that has wandered the earth in innumerable variations. The dispute of the trees as to who is of highest rank, which is familiar in love songs, has parallels in the East, among them the biblical tale of the Thornbusch who finally agrees to become King (Jotham in Judges 9, 8-15).

Is there anything similar in *genus dicendi* underlying those scenes that we have discussed above? Does there exist any underlying *genus dicendi* at all? The proof of the theory that the pictures are not whims of the moment but rather text illustrations can only be supplied indirectly. First of all is the fact that certain themes frequently recur; and secondly, that the protagonists reappear in other, but always related, settings. Finally, there is the tale - still alive in modern Egypt - of the War between the Cats and the Mice, as the final link in a chain of themes that can be followed back through their wanderings in history, to ancient Egypt. Occasionally, one finds a few words added to the sketches. Thus, on the back of an ostrakon in Chicago (Or.Inst.13 951)<sup>10</sup>, we find the inscription (t) } *mjt prw p* } *d* ("the cat, (the) mouse and the boy"), presumably the caption of the picture appearing on the other side. This confirms the assumption that we are here dealing with stereotyped figures.

In conclusion, we may ask ourselves why these attractive pictures - even though without text - are only preserved in works of art of secondary, even lowest rank, or whether they may not have served still another purpose.

There is some evidence that they may once have decorated the walls of houses. Through the fragments that remain we know that ancient Egyptian wall-paintings can be considered the spiritual ancestors of those in Pompeii. That animal fables belonged to this type of decoration is proved by a Coptic version of the subjugation of the mice by the cats which occurs as a wall-painting in the monastery of Bawit. Moreover, other ostraka-motives, such as the one of the delivery room, have been identified as sketches for wall painting. Thanks to a tiny fragment from the base of a wall of a room

in Deir el-Medîna, this large class of figured ostraka can be considered as part of this class, vividly depicting life as it was. The walls of tombs and temples were not the place for intimate and comic subjects, but the secular buildings that are almost entirely lost, can be assumed to have contained these animal murals.

Note should be taken of Phaedrus' words: "Cum victi mures mustelarum exercitu, historia quorum et in tabernis pingitur" ("How the mice were overthrown by an army of weasels (cats), the story of which is also depicted in taverns") and we may imagine that the little animals may also have enlivened public houses.

In such places as well as in the state rooms of the lord of the house and in the nurseries, the caterwauling servants, the apish domestics and all the tomfoolery may have had a proper place. Surreptitiously, some scenes seem to have found a place in holy places and temples and are to be found peeping whimsically out from behind the pillars. Some animal doggerels sung by your children were practised on the banks of the Nile thousands of years ago.<sup>11)</sup>

The stock of animal stories which may be illustrated from works of art in several museums, is represented by one example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, from the Gayer-Anderson Collection (No.26). The group of ostraka which depict the theme of the "lying-in chamber" were allotted to Stockholm. For the remainder, however, although not all motives are present, the Fitzwilliam Museum enjoys a comprehensive portion of the present total number of figured ostraka. There are several pieces which any of the larger Egyptian collections would be proud to own (e.g. Nos. 1, 14, 15, 35).

*The Cambridge Ostraka*

All of the ostraka listed here are from the collection formed by R.G. Gayer-Anderson Pasha (1881-1945), who, apart from the exigencies of war service and frequent visits to England, lived in Egypt from 1906 to 1942, successively as an army medical officer, a senior civil servant and a private collector. In 1942 he gave his Cairo house, Beit-el-Kreatlia, to the Egyptian Government as a museum of Islamic art, moved to his home at Lavenham in England and gave his collection of Egyptian antiquities to the Fitzwilliam Museum, although they do not seem actually to have begun to arrive in Cambridge until 1943. Some items, such as the jewellery, he retained at Lavenham and these were received by the Museum by bequest in 1947. A substantial part of the collection had been lent to Stockholm and the war and difficulties arising from Gayer-Anderson's own death delayed the arrival of this in Cambridge until 1949.

The total number of ostraka amounts to 46. Fifteen of these have been used on both sides, so that the number of representations is 61. Among them 54 carry figures (No. 42 has the head of a crocodile at one end, although the surface of the stone is covered with text) and 4 text. Numbers 3, 24, and 31 are palimpsests, that is one sketch lies under another.

The material is limestone, except for two potsherds (Nos. 15 and 24) and one made of a smooth, grey stone (No.44).

Colour was applied to most of the figures as was usual, 21 examples are incised or carved in relief and so rather products of sculpture than of line-drawing.

All the figures were executed on a black colouring agent, except for No. 25, a cat, which was depicted in red. Sixteen examples show red and black used together. Only in 6 cases were more colours employed:

- No. 30 (Donkey), black and grey
- No. 34 (Offering Scene), black and red
- No. 43 (Owl), black and red
- No. 22 (Ape), black, red and grey
- No. 31 (Billy goat), black, red and yellow
- No. 23 (Ape), black, red, grey and yellow.

The classification scheme of the catalogue is given in the table of contents. It starts with the unique piece, No. 1, which shows a temple doorway, and progresses from representations of gods and men, to animals. At the end is a class

of miscellaneous fragments. The order of the human figures follows traditional lines. Animals have been grouped following the classification used by zoologists. No distinction has been made between sacred, wild and domesticated animals. It seems more sensible not to treat relief and painted ostraka separately, so each motif is treated as a whole, and examples are not split up according to technique. The inscriptions are only dealt with in so far as they belong to the figure. Independent inscriptions such as are to be found on the 'reverse' surface are reproduced (next to the appropriate figured side) and identified, but not studied.

Since the context in which these documents were found is not known, they can only be dated on the evidence of stylistic criteria or names present in inscriptions. As a result it seemed sensible to group examples by date only where additional evidence was available. In general they can be assigned to the period of the 18th - 20th Dynasties. This is the period assigned to Theban necropolis village of Deir el-Medîna (c. 1500 - 1100 B.C.) from which most of the pieces must have come. Information as to date and provenance is therefore omitted throughout, except in cases where there is additional evidence. For the same reason, the source is not given with the rest of the data, because all the pieces came from the Gayer-Anderson Collection.

The measurements given are width and height, and only in a few cases is depth also indicated. Under 'Bibliography', all references to publications of the actual ostrakon are given, and under 'Parallels', references to examples of the same motif on pieces in other museums. In addition to the bibliography referred to in the individual catalogue entries, there is a list of publications of ostraka in the bibliography at the end of the book. An index and concordance have also been provided to help readers.

## Notes

- 1) See Emma Brunner-Traut, Die Wochenlaube, in: *MIO* 3, 1955, p. 11-30; textually confirmed (*j̄sm nfr*) in Leiden I 348 vso 12.11 - 11,1, by J.F. Borghouts, The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 51, 1970, p. 30 and f. (393).
- 2) E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder*, Nos. 69, 70 und 72.
- 3) Brunner-Traut, *Scherbenbilder*, Nos. 28 - 30.
- 4) Brunner-Traut, Nachwort "Aspektive" zu Heinrich Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*<sup>4</sup>, Wiesbaden 1963; english von J. Baines, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, Oxford 1974. - Aspektivische Kunst, in: *Antaios* 6, 1964, p. 309 - 330. - Aspektive, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, 1973, p. 474-488.
- 4) E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*,<sup>5</sup> 1977. - Ead., *Altägypt. Märchen*,<sup>4</sup> 1976, p. 44 - 58. Ead. in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens I*, 1975, p. 185 - 187. - Ead., *Die Alten Ägypter*,<sup>2</sup> 1976, chapter 7. - Silvio Curto, *La Satira nell'antico Egitto*, Quaderno no. 1 del Museo Egizio di Torino.
- 6) Louvre No. E.17 339: *Bulletin de la Société française de l'Égyptologie* 51, 1968, p. 9, pl. 1, B.
- 7) See Brunner-Traut, *Altägypt. Tiergeschichte und Fabel*, p. 29 - 33 and Ead., *Altägypt. Märchen*,<sup>4</sup> 1976, p. 59 - 58.
- 8) In England we may see traces of the War of the Cats and Mice in images in the margins of gothic manuscripts: Lilian M.C. Randall, *Images ...*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966 (Univ. of California Press), fig. 98 f. (Harleian-manuscripts-collection 6563 in the Brit. Museum, London, 1300 - 1325 A.D.). - fig. 101 (Psalter of the Belvoir Castle in the Collection of Duke of Rutland, 1250 A.D.).
- 9) See Brunner-Traut, Der Sehgott und der Hörgott, in: *Fragen an die Altägypt. Literatur*. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto, 1977, p.127-145.
- 10) Brunner-Traut, *Tiergeschichte*, fig. 9, or ead., *Märchen*,<sup>4</sup> 1976, p.58.
- 11) Basing her reconstruction upon the surviving pictures and specialist knowledge of Ancient Egypt, the author has attempted to bring the lost animal stories back to life, hoping thereby to stimulate the reader's own imagination: E. Brunner-Traut, *Tiergeschichten aus dem Pharaonenland*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz, 1977.

## CATALOGUE

### *Architecture*

- No.1. EGA.4298.1943, recto and verso  
Size: 42 cm x 27 cm  
Material: Limestone  
Technique: Black line drawing  
Provenance: From Thebes, according to inscription  
Date: 19th Dynasty  
Bibliography: M.A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, London 1949, p.208, pl.LXXX, p.242, pl.LXXXII, 3; Peck, *Drawings*, 131, 132.  
Parallels: For the doorway cf. Vandier d'Abbadie 2702; for the head of Ptah, cf. Peterson 43

This large ostrakon is decorated on both sides, the decoration on the upper face being applied horizontally, and that on the underside being applied vertically. The ostrakon was originally rectangular in shape, but one corner has since broken away. The decorated surface of the upper side may be divided into three zones. A doorway is represented in the centre, and to the left of it stands a figure shown also in the tympanum above the lintel, but on a large scale, is a line of inscription, not in this case taken out of the main scene, but probably belonging to it.

The elements of the doorway are the side supports (jambs), above which, as a moulding, lies an architrave crowned with a cavetto cornice, and the two leaves of the door. These are covered with a design derived from a bead network, such as is to be found on the finest quality garments worn by the mummified dead, and by goddesses. In the upper middle of each leaf is a white square. The bead network pattern is framed by a narrow blank stripe. (There is a change in this arrangement for the right hand side.) The white square on the wooden leaf of the door provides a place for the name of the building or its owner. The doors of important buildings always bore names, since the doorways were considered the most significant, as well as the most conspicuous architectural element.

The bead network pattern must have developed in imitation of a curtain made of strings of beads. Such an airy entrance barrier would be much preferred in Egypt, as in all hot countries, since it protects from the light, and from sight while letting the breeze pass through.<sup>1)</sup>

The use of bead matting alone to seal a doorway is a characteristic of the early periods of Egyptian history, but after civilisation had evolved a little further wooden doors as well as matting began to be used. The blank name spaces indicate that the door drawn on the ostrakon is made of wood and decorated with matting. If the drawing represents the doorway of a tomb and not of a house,<sup>2)</sup> what is depicted is not a real bead work hanging fixed to the door, but an imitation of it painted on the wooden panels. It is possible that the original beadwork hangings were by this time decorative and not functional. In any case, the scenes in the lunette suggest that a tomb door was intended even if the design was derived from the doors of houses.

The architrave is decorated with a lunette. It is divided in the middle by a papyrus column, with a capital in the form of a closed bud and a band wound around the shaft. Set against the column, but viewed from the side, are two thrones, on the right sits Isis or Hathor and on the left, Horus, with the donor standing opposite them dressed in a short kilt and a long robe, and carrying a long and short staff. In the remaining space on each side sits a cat gazing ahead in full face view. The goddess wears on her head a small circlet with the sun disk between cow's horns, and in her hand, a papyrus-sceptre, with, in her nearer hand, the sign of life. Horus wears the double crown, one hand also holds a papyrus-sceptre but the nearer hand is empty. The three figures in each symmetrical half of the tympanum are separated from each other by vertical lines, which derive from the supports used in the original architecture. There is space provided at eye level before each of the four anthropomorphic figures for an inscription, but the space has not been filled in. The wedge of space left outside the lunette is filled with a 'wedjat' eye, a bird's tail and a basket on leaves.

To the left of the door, the figure of the donor is represented, on a larger scale and in more detail. The man wears a long curled wig, tied behind his head in a loop, a fillet, and a short beard. He is dressed in a broad collar, a sash, and a short pleated kilt above which one can see the gentle curve of his body. A short line extending below the hem of the kilt indicates that he also wears the long, broad kilt as in the scene on the tympanum. His outstretched hand holds a papyrus sceptre, and the other a lotus flower. In the small scene of the tympanum, the flower is simplified to a staff. Behind the figure stands a small bowl upon a tall

stand (now lost); three flames leap out from it and overlap the man's arm.

Above the figure of the man, there is a drawing of a head of the god Ptah with a cap and beard. On the right side of the door there is a line of hieroglyphs:-



Conquer the people of the Nine Bows (a symbolic designation of enemies of Egypt)

The raised head of the *f*-viper is peculiar.

The whole drawing is an example of the finest workmanship, and must have been produced as a design for a door which the owner had commissioned with this sketch. Perhaps, on the other hand, the artist himself made the sketches before the execution of the work. The custom of providing a name panel is most common in, but not exclusive to, the XVIII Dynasty, and the style of the vignettes on the tympanum could scarcely occur before the XIX Dynasty. The cat used as motif in the corner of the lunette also argues for a later date. Domestic animals are frequently to be observed in the orient to retreat into the lintel of a door from where, despite the door being closed, they can slip through a hole into the house. By the XVIII Dynasty, this habit had already won for the cat a similar place in the ornamentation of doors,<sup>3)</sup> but its appearance on the ostrakon, already in its emblematic position, suggests a date not earlier than Dynasty XIX.

On the underside is a less accomplished representation of the donor, which gives in broad detail an outline of the man as far as the knees. His head band is decorated with seven circles, and the wig, which differs from the one shown on the other side, has a characteristic chequer pattern on its lower layer. Two folds of flesh are indicated on the neck, and the ear is sketched in. The pleats on the scarf and kilt are shown, although the lines are now greatly faded. His staff has an umbelliform pommel and a similarly formed hand guard. Behind the figure may be read a line of inscription:



*Gods, Goddesses and Demi-gods*

No.2.	EGA.105.1949
Size:	4 cm x 6 cm; thickness: between 1.2 cm and 2.4 cm
Material:	Limestone
Technique:	Black line drawing
Provenance:	Bought from Said Molutam in Luxor, 1.3.1910
Parallels:	Peterson 43 (wearing a different crown)

This ostrakon is too geometrical in shape to be classed as a sherd. It has been cut out as a rectangle, and looks very much like a truncated pyramid on a base of the same height. The suspicion that the stone was cut to shape in modern times is suggested by the fact that the tooling marks visible on the crown were made after the drawing was made and the cutting of the stone has trimmed off the top edge of the crown.

The figure which stands on a double base line is a representation of Thoth with the head of an ibis<sup>1)</sup> wearing a kilt and crown, and with a long tail down to the ground. He gazes to the right, and carries a *w<sup>3</sup>s*-sceptre in his outstretched hand, and a sign of life in the hand which hangs down. The transition from the bird's head to man's body is achieved by the use of a vertically striped wig with long side pieces (lapets) falling onto the chest, and a necklace. The crown is an *atef* crown, with ram's horns, to which uraei crowned with the sun disc are attached. The portion of the belted kilt which is folded over is also pleated.

This figure with its slender attenuated limbs, depicts the god of wisdom and writing, who, in the ancient world, was considered as the Egyptian form of Hermes Trismegistos. The Egyptians also honoured Thoth as the protector of painters and sculptors. The carefully smoothed surface, neat rectangular shape, and the experienced draughtsmanship and composition indicate that we have here a small stela prepared by one of the artists of the Deir el-Medīna community in honour of his protective deity.

Note

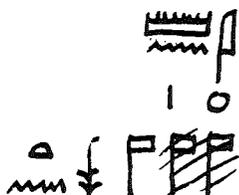
1) For 'ibis' see below No.40.

No.3.                    EGA.4753.1943, recto and verso  
 Size:                    9.5 cm x 14.5 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Red and black line drawing  
 Provenance:            Amarna, according to a note on the piece it-  
                               self  
 Date:                    New Kingdom  
 Parallels:              Vandier d'Abbadie 2991 f.

On the surface of the sherd is the upper part of a representation of the god Ptah, recognisable by his cap and the tassels of his necklace which extend outwards from the nape of the neck. He faces towards the right, and in front of him is a *w s*-sceptre. This most accomplished sketch, whose quality leaps to the eye when compared with the similar drawing cited above.

The figure was drawn on top of an earlier sketch in red, an experiment at representating a coiled cobra. One recognises in the snake's rearing and swollen chest, the spirals of its body and the tip of its tail the tentative exercise of a student, albeit a talented one.

On the underside of the ostrakon are the remains of an inscription:



Amun-Re, King of the Gods

The name Amun-Re clearly indicates a theban provenance, as does the representation of the god Ptah, and this throws some doubt on the note written on the ostrakon. Ptah, the god of craftsmanship, identified by the Greeks with Hephaistos, was accordingly the divine patron of craftsmen, like those from the village of Deir el-Medîna at Thebes.<sup>1)</sup>

#### Note

- 1) For Ptah see M. Sandman Holmberg, *Ptah*, Lund, 1946;  
 H. Bonnet, *Realexikon* under Ptah.

No.4.                    EGA.4752. 1943  
Size:                    10 cm x 11 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:               Black line drawing within red outline  
Date:                    New Kingdom

The stone has been cut to the shape of a small stela, and represented on it are seven small figures, which are brought together as a unit by the red line which frames the design. The figures do not stand on a base line, but are arranged symmetrically on both sides of some figures in the middle. In the upper register are two horned cattle (?), both with crowns, with an offering stand between them. The bull (?) on the left has a light coloured body with black markings, and the one on the right is black. In the middle register on the left is a figure of Thoth with an ibis head, and on the right a falcon headed figure of Horus. Both figures hold *w*<sup>3</sup>*s*-sceptres and Horus wears a composite crown, but its precise character is hard to establish. Between them are two crowned figures, the upper one a ram, looking to the right, and the lower one a squatting baboon looking to the left. At the bottom, in the middle, is another figure which cannot be identified with certainty.

The style of this lively group of figures which have been set down with such bold strokes, suggests that this ostrakon is a stela dedicated to the gods depicted. The deft, strong hand also suggests that this votive piece is an expression of the piety of one of the necropolis craftsmen of Deir el-Medîna, although the composition is unique.

- No.5. EGA.4290. 1943  
 Size: 11.3 cm x 7.5 cm  
 Material: Limestone  
 Technique: Black and red line drawing with red paint  
 Date: 19th Dynasty  
 Bibliography: M.A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, London, 1949, p.242, pl.LXXXII, 1; J. Leclant, "Astarté à cheval" in: *Syria*, 37, 1960, p.41, fig.18; Peck, *Drawings*, 11.  
 Parallels: Peterson 31; Brunner-Traut 16; the remainder (from Deir el-Medîna: Louvre E.25 323; an example in the Davies Collection; Brussels 6776; Ostrakon Edgerton) are described by Leclant *op.cit.*, figs. 18-23 on p.43, with discussion and bibliography on p.41-46

This small fragment shows a woman riding (towards the right) on a stallion. The horse trots at a leisurely pace along the ground-line, which slopes upwards as if to represent the desert. <sup>1)</sup> The animal has a short, upright mane, and wears a bridle and a blanket. The boyishly formed woman<sup>2)</sup> rides in the usual Amazonian fashion, her right hand lies on the horse's crupper, she holds a spear in her left while, at the same time controlling the reins which have been gathered into a loop which passes around her body.<sup>3)</sup>

The crown of her head is missing and with it the original headdress, but her hair, worn in ringlets around the head, is visible. The woman wears a heart (?) amulet<sup>4)</sup> on a long string around her neck. The dots on her chest, which form an extended row in a curved line from the amulet to her waist, may indicate jewellery or a scarf. However, I cannot accept the suggestion of M. Leclant<sup>5)</sup> that the dots are part of a dress, although another ostrakon with which it may be compared from the Davies Collection<sup>6)</sup> may show this.<sup>7)</sup> On the contrary, the nipple and the fold of the stomach can be clearly seen. The line around the neck can be explained as a necklace, as in the unequivocally naked figure of a rider in Berlin<sup>8)</sup> which has a similar neck "seam". I believe in the case of the Cambridge rider the dots represent a scarf, like that worn by the donor ostrakon No.1, even if there is no sign of the kilt that one might expect to be worn with it.

The drawing is finely done, but lacks vivacity. The black outline has been laid over preliminary lines in red, and both the bodies have been painted red.

It is most likely that the woman represents a goddess,

specifically the Syrian goddess of war, Astarte. From the time of their close contacts with the Palastinian and Syrian states from the 18th Dynasty onwards, the Egyptians accepted Astarte, and called her, especially in the Ramesside period, "Great Mistress of Horses" and took her into the Egyptian pantheon. The presumed earliest temple of Astarte, together with Baal, was set up at Memphis. Since representations of the goddess, identifying her by name are not very common, it is not always easy to distinguish her from goddesses with very similar cults. The "goddess on horseback" occurs to a limited extent among the motives of design ostraka. It is clear that the new theme of a woman riding provided the artist with a challenge, and that through inexperience he tackled the figure of a horse with some difficulty. Whether this graceful sketch is an artist's study, or is itself an appeal to the goddess remains unknown.<sup>9)</sup>

#### Notes

- 1) Cf. Vandier d'Abbadie 2159.
- 2) For a discussion showing that it is not a man, and it is a horse not an ass as Miss Murray suggests, see Schulmann, in: *JNES* 16, 1957, 269.
- 3) Here I cannot follow Leclant, p.13 note 4, who considers this loop to be part of a girdle. The line of the reins going around her waist is very clear. The same arrangement occurs on the parallel quoted by him, the stela in Turin (pl. IA).
- 4) See Brunner-Traut 16. For the heart amulet, see Malaise, in: *Cronique d'Égypte* 50, 1975, 105ff.
- 5) *op.cit.*, p.41.
- 6) *JEA* 4, 1917, pl.51(2).
- 7) In this case a double line on the left is cut by a single line on the right running from the shoulder to the waist, and must represent a piece of material crossed over.
- 8) Brunner-Traut 16.
- 9) On the motif of Astarte see J. Leclant, "Astaré à cheval" in: *Syria* 37, 1960 1-67; *id.*, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, under Astarte; and in: Bonnet, *Reallexikon* under Astarte; on design ostraka with Astarte, Brunner-Traut *op.cit.*, p.29-31.

No.6.                    EGA.4299. 1943  
Size:                    6.5 cm x 9.5 cm  
Material:                Fine white limestone  
Technique:              Black line drawing  
Date:                    New Kingdom, probably 19th Dynasty  
Parallels:               Peterson 28; Vandier d'Abbadie 2622

This ostrakon which has been cut to form a rough rectangle, carries a drawing of a winged figure of Bes, the Serpent-Biter.

Bes is usually shown from the front as a bowlegged and dwarfish figure, with a broad, grimacing face, animal ears, long wide beard, and a wig imitating a lion's mane. His hanging breasts, a sign of corpulence, have a strangely feminine appearance, and his empty hands are placed on his stomach. He wears a feather crown, perhaps taken over from a nubian prototype, composed of five feathers and sundisks, and tied under his breasts are two crossed over bands whose ends float freely. On his upper arms he wears two thick armllets, and between his legs a broad strip of some material hangs down. A common characteristic of representations of this demon, is that he is shown biting snakes; here the two victims are symmetrically arranged so that their heads are turned outwards and their outstretched tails hang down below his shoulders. The wings run parallel with his thighs and touch the ground on either side.

Bes is a popular God-Demon, protective in character, who appears in various forms. It would not be appropriate here to discuss whether all the representations we classify as Bes are in fact different demonic creatures which have become amalgamated, or separate attributes of one prototype which have developed independent identities. Two points may however be made, that Bes the Serpent-Biter, as he is described in inscriptions, is usually called "Aha", i.e., "The Conqueror" and that the form of Bes, with pendulous breasts, who is sometimes shown offering them to Re, the child, is in the late period called "Hit".

The role in which Bes appears on this ostrakon is clear enough. He is a protective demon who frightens away enemies with his grimacing Gorgon's mask, and who destroys snakes. Wherever man is most vulnerable to evil influences, such as in childbearing, or in safeguarding young children, the help of Bes is sought. As the guardian of the Sun-child, it is he who suckles the young. This odd association of ideas results

later in Bes being considered as one of the children of Re himself. His acceptance as a solar deity led in turn to him becoming the popular form of the sun god. As a result of his ancient appearance, he was considered the manifestation of the old sun god, who is reborn as the youthful sun, Chepri. These two figures, the dwarfish old man Bes and the child, represent the opposing aspects of the rising and the setting sun. The ostrakon in Stockholm which provides a parallel, illustrates the magical-protective character of Bes, who in this case carries two protective symbols in his hands. He is not shown biting serpents.

The ostrakon in the Fitzwilliam Museum, rather than an artist's study for the decoration of a wall, or bed in a woman's chamber, is probably a monument in its own right - a votive stela set up perhaps in a confinement room, or in the woman's quarters to provide protection against snakes.<sup>1)</sup>

#### Note

- 1) For Bes see Bonnet, *Realexikon* under Bes and the references he cites; Altenmüller, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* under Bes; otherwise see below under No.7. For his role in confinements, see E. Brunner-Traut, "Die Wochenlaube" in: *MIO*, 3, 1955, p.24.

No.7.                    EGA.4509. 1943  
 Size:                    7 cm x 8.7 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Raised relief (unfinished)  
 Date:                    New Kingdom

Like No.6, this ostrakon carries a representation of Bes, but in this case only of his head. As a result of Egypt's campaigns in the south, new titles, "Ruler of Punt" and "Lord of Nubia" were given to Bes, and with them fresh details added to the iconography of the god. His appearance shows the influence of the religious and stylistic conventions of the African interior, illustrated on this piece by the tribal marks cut on the cheeks.

Squarely in the middle of the god's broad oval face is his mouth with the tongue sticking out. The least conspicuous element in the unfinished piece are the eyes. Perhaps the deep furrow in the middle of his forehead represents the characteristic lines usually cut above strongly marked eyebrow ridges in images of the god. In any case the stadium nascendi shows that the clumsy sculptor was incapable of bringing his work to a successful conclusion. For this reason, perhaps, the exercise was left unfinished.

The fact that only the head was represented does not prove that this is a practice piece, for the head of Bes occurs independently as a motive. Broadly speaking, among the sources of Egyptian art which survive, only heads of Bes and Hathor are shown regularly en-face, and appear as single, self-contained elements. Innumerable heads of Bes occur as amulets, Bes-masks are shown over the figure of Horus on Horus stelae and Bes heads are to be found on headrests, toilet implements, vases and drinking horns. The Bes-grimace itself may have provided the inspiration for the Satyrs or the head of Medusa.<sup>1)</sup> Like these, the head was itself a potent image.

Note

1) For references see No.6, note 1.



No.9.                    EGA.3133. 1943  
 Size:                    14 cm x 16 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Sunk relief  
 Date:                    Reign of Merenptah on stylistic grounds  
 Parallels:              Daressy 25 005; Brunner-Traut 27 (with differences). For the King's head see also L. Keimer, in: *Etudes d'Égyptologie*, fasc. III, Cairo, 1941, pl.11, and Daressy 25 144 ff., and Peterson, pl.7-12

This piece of rather coarse relief, although originally complete, has suffered slight damage, and some surface wear. It shows the head of a king with crown, diadem, beard and necklace. The crown is worn on top of a short wig, and consists of a pair of horizontally outstretched ram's horns, each one with a uraeus in the middle, crowned with a sun disk. Where the horns meet are two tall ostrich plumes with another sun disk at their base. Around the diadem, once covered in patterned gold leaf, the body of a uraeus snake curls itself, while its head rears up on the royal forehead ready to ward off any danger. The ties of the diadem band float free at the back of the head, in imitation of the knotted fillet from which it was derived. One tie projects at an acute angle to the head, the other is shown lying against the wig, and terminates in a uraeus snake crowned by a sun disk. A narrow wavy beard has been fastened to the chin. The necklace, which is only schematically rendered, consists of five rows of beads.

It is arguable that this relief belongs neither to the 18th or 20th Dynasty, but rather to the period in between. It does not show the sophisticated, controlled lines of the early 19th Dynasty - exemplified by the noble and consummately skilled reliefs from the Sethos temple at Abydos, and lacks the metallic sharpness of image and the inimitable modelling of that epoch. The relief is neither sensitive nor precise, but while no masterpiece, with neither the vigorous elegance or the conscious exploitation of the medium, which the reliefs of Sethos I exhibit, it cannot be classified with the stereotyped works of art, such as occur at the end of the Dynasty, and which foreshadow the art of Ramesses III. Although the style is not strong, it expresses some tension. Moreover, it doesn't reproduce the enlarged, squat, proportions of the 20th Dynasty. A date in the reign of Merenptah is suggested, and in my opinion, this would fit in well with the style of the regalia.

No.10.                    EGA.3130. 1943, recto and verso  
Size:                    9.5 cm x 16.5 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:              Raised relief  
Date:                    Early 19th Dynasty based upon style  
Parallels:              Vandier d'Abbadie 2958 and 2978 (with blue crown)

This limestone flake, which has been chipped on all sides, preserves part of a relief study of a king looking towards the right. The figure is preserved to the waist. He wears a striped head sloth, tied at the back of the neck, a uraeus on his brow, and a royal beard. Around his neck is a necklace of two rows of beads, and his right breast and upper arm are covered with a soft pleated shawl which is knotted and the ends tucked into his waist. In his right hand he carries the crook and flail. The face and the headcloth are worn and scratched, and the hand and both shoulders are not quite finished.

Over the head of the figure, a sun disk with uraeus has been cut separately in raised relief.

Whether the piece was fully executed or not, it remains a work of quality. The security of line, fine modelling, gentle curves, and the carving of the transparent garment so that it appears to cling softly to the body, all indicate that the piece belongs in the early 19th Dynasty.

On the back are rather blurred traces (in red and black) of a bird on a standard.

No.11.                EGA.4724. 1943  
Size:                24 cm x 12 cm  
Material:            Limestone  
Technique:          Black line drawing  
Date:                Ramesside Period  
Parallels:          Brunner-Traut 31 (without the beard, or fillet); Vandier d'Abbadie 2973 (without fillet and beard presumably broken off)

The ostrakon has been broken off at the bottom, but retains a slightly blurred image of the head and shoulders of a king looking towards the right. On his forehead is a disproportionately large uraeus snake - rearing up. Around his head on top of his short wig is a band tied at the back of his head in a loop, with long ends falling down, and on his chin he wears a long, thin, straight royal beard. The head is a typical example of the style of the ramesside period. The eye, if it ever existed, has been wiped away. Extending from the knot at the back of the head, and covering the ear is a uraeus. Around his neck the king wears a plain collar.

Before the king's head is an incomplete (the head is lacking) drawing of a hawk looking to the right. This drawing with its several corrected lines must be a student's exercise.

No.12.                    EGA.3111. 1943  
 Size:                    7.4 cm x 7.1 cm  
 Material:                Fine white limestone  
 Technique:              Sunk relief  
 Date:                    New Kingdom  
 Parallels:               Brunner-Traut 39 (with slight differences)

This royal head, identifiable by the uraeus on the forehead, is carved in sunk relief in an uncertain hand. The man wears a short, round wig which exposes the ear. The profile, the position of the eye and the modelling of face and neck all indicate that the sculptor was inexperienced.

Such experimental pieces are important however, in illustrating how far the artist had to progress to be able to produce the accomplished workmanship we associate with Egyptian art. One has only to compare the "cobble-stone" effect of this wig with that of a Ramose<sup>1)</sup>, or the "stewed-dumpling" contours of cheek and neck with the almost unearthly subtlety of the modelling of a Kha'emhet.<sup>2)</sup> This is the work of a student, not a master. The hatching in front of the face must indicate the pupil's experimental chisel marks. In spite of its idiosyncrasy, the representation remains stylistically so characteristic that it could belong to no other class of art than Egyptian.

#### Notes

- 1) See figure of Ramose from his tomb at Thebes, K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt*, London: (Phaidon Press), 1961, pl.167.
- 2) See figure of Kha'emhet from his tomb at Thebes, *Ibid.*, pl.153.

No.13.                    EGA.102. 1949  
Size:                    12 cm x 10 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:              Black line drawing  
Date:                    Ramesside Period  
Parallels:              Daressy 25 160 (a mirror image of this ostrakon)

The piece is slightly damaged in the upper right corner, so that the front of the diadem is missing. It shows the head of a man, facing right, and wearing a round wig, diadem and large round ear-rings. The gold leaf fitted on his brow, and the shoulder length lock-of-youth indicate that the portrait is that of a prince. The exercise is clumsy, the nose and the outline of the wig have been corrected. The eye and the hair showing beneath the wig on the forehead, both reveal the hand of a still unskilled student.

*Men*

- No.14. EGA.4324. 1943, recto. For verso see No.46  
 Size: 13.5 cm x 15 cm  
 Material: Limestone  
 Technique: Red and black line drawing  
 Date: Ramesside Period  
 Bibliography: M.A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, London, 1949, p.242,pl.LXXXII, 4; E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Alten Agypter*, Stuttgart, 2nd ed., 1976, pl.71, p.208; E. Brunner-Traut, in: *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, pl.337c; Peck, *Drawings*, 82

This ostrakon is one of the most interesting in the Fitzwilliam's collection, and perhaps in the whole range of surviving ostraka. The subject is unique, unparalleled also in the official art of Egypt. It shows a stonemason from Deir el-Medîna in the midst of his harsh daily work.

He appears as a rather bulky bald-headed man, with enormous ears, a bristling chin,<sup>1)</sup> a short bull neck, and a misshapen nose. He leans forward towards the right, wielding a chisel and wooden hammer. His mouth gapes open, which reflects less the quality of his intelligence than the physical strain of the work. The red ground line (now faded) indicates that the artist visualized him kneeling, although only the arms and head are shown. The pose is obviously that of a stonemason hollowing out an area of ground for a tomb shaft in the rock. The old man appears to be gasping for breath, in spite of his brawny arms, implying that the heavy, dusty work goes very slowly. In front of him, faintly indicated in a red line which follows the chips on the ostrakon, seems to be the outline of the rock into which he is cutting. He still has a great deal to do!

Traces of a red line along the upper and lower curved edges of the ostrakon appear to frame the drawing, and the use of this convention suggests that this is the work of one of the necropolis painters, who thus immortalized one of this workmates. The reverse shows that this fragment forms the right half of a small arched stela. Whoever the man was who produced this lightning sketch, he has by this simple drawing (which was drafted in red and traced over in black) conjured up for us the sufferings of a workman of Deir el-Medîna who lived over three and a half thousand years ago.

Not only is this a unique cultural document, it is in the first rank also as a drawing. There is a faint trace of caricature, perhaps, but the drawing presents a real situation, unobscured by symbols and conventional forms. It is worth noting that the craftsman has been drawn as if he had two right hands,<sup>2)</sup> and that the outline of the left arm, which has been drawn first, has been cut in the correct place to show the hammer held in the right hand.

Notes

- 1) Among people of standing this would be a sign of mourning; here it is a sign of slovenliness.
- 2) See H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, Oxford 1974, p.297 f.

No.15.                    EGA.106. 1949  
 Size:                    10 cm x 14 cm  
 Material:                Pottery, exterior covered with red slip  
 Technique:              Black line drawing  
 Date:                    Probably Ptolemaic-Roman Period

This sherd is a fragment of an oval necked jar, and carries the sketch of a man with a yoke on his shoulder, walking towards the right. The man is old and his spindly body, with its long, scraggy neck and slightly crooked back, is crowned by a ring of untidy hair around his bald head. From his hips hangs a short, fringed skirt. The lines on his back may represent a piece of cloth clamped under the yoke to prevent the wood from chafing his skin. The long, stick-like arms look artificial, fastened to the body like those of a puppet.

In one hand the man carries a thin stick, and with the other he balances the yoke. From the yoke hangs a basket, like those shown painted on ushabti figures, and which exist also as models in bronze. The sherd is broken where the front basket would have appeared. Perhaps the man is a shepherd, trailing after his herd, carrying his own food ration, as in a scene from a tomb in Thebes<sup>1)</sup>. This motif also leads into the world of the animal fables.<sup>2)</sup>

On the left edge of the sherd are faint traces of the drawing of a young bird, and on the right edge, in the transition between the neck and the body of the original pottery vessel, can be seen even fainter traces of a standing figure.

The drawing may be dated late by its style, and by the vessel's ware, and probably belongs in the Ptolemaic-Roman period.

#### Notes

- 1) The tomb of Ipuu, Theban tomb no.217, W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, I*, Leipzig 1923, pl.366.
- 2) Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*, 5th edition, Darmstadt 1977, fig.18, 19, 20 and 30.

No.16.                    EGA.4507. 1943  
Size:                    5.7 cm x 10.2 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:              Sunk relief  
Date:                    Amarna Period  
Parallels:              Vandier d'Abbadie 2927 - 2957 (various studies  
                                 of heads - not dated to the Amarna Period)

This unfinished head was without doubt made during the Amarna Period. Even in its incomplete state, the vivid expressiveness which characterises the unconventional style of the reign of Akenaten is apparent. The facial type with its receding brow, narrow, slanting eye slit, broad nostrils, protruding lips, jutting chin and curved neck is typical of the period, which broke so fanatically from earlier traditions.

No.17.                    EGA.4508. 1943  
Size:                    13.8 cm x 23.2 cm; thickness: 5.2 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:              Sunk Relief  
Date:                    End of the 18th Dynasty on the evidence of  
                                 style  
Parallels:                See above, No.16

A man's head is carved in relief on this piece of stone. The large, swollen skull, the slightly protruding lips, the symmetrical eye slit and the neck creases suggest the style of the Armana Period, but not its most developed phase. The ear, which has a pierced lobe, is large and unusually curved, and the neck with its two small folds, terminates at a line which represents the first string of a necklace. The face is most conscientiously modelled, but is so soft as to be almost flaccid. This lassitude is a characteristic of those periods of art in which a great effort has been expended in breaking with the conventions of the past.

No.18.            EGA.3110. 1943, recto and verso  
Size:            7.6 cm x 9.2 cm  
Material:        Limestone  
Technique:      Raised relief with traces of red paint  
Date:            Probably 19th Dynasty

This small flake of limestone is incised on both sides with representations of a man's head. On the upper side, the man wears a vertically striped wig and fillet. The details of the hair of the figure on the reverse have not been completed, unless it was intended to portray a cap that does not cover the ears. Common to both studies is the aquiline nose the portrayal of which the apprentice was probably to practise. However, since this shape is characteristic of the nose of Sethos I, I believe it indicates that the fragment was carved during his reign. With Sethos I began a line of Pharaohs racially distinct from their predecessors. Face and cranium show Asiatic features, the nose is somewhat aquiline (in contrast to the straight, sometimes slightly concave, noses of 18th Dynasty rulers), and the head almost European. The pouting mouth of the trial piece on the upper side seems to me to be the result of an unsuccessful attempt to follow the new model, whereas the style of the rest of the face fits the suggested date.

There are faint traces of red paint on this head on the recto, in the corners of the nose, eye and mouth, as if the whole of the face had originally been covered with paint which was later cleaned off. This painting may have been carried out by Gayer-Anderson himself, since this particular shade of pink occurs on other things in his collection and he seems to have liked to "improve" objects in this way.

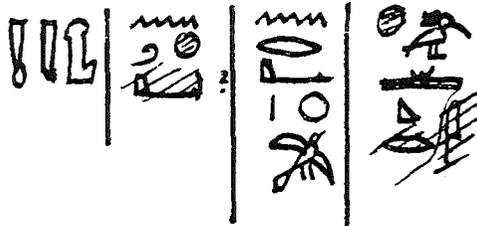
No.19.                    EGA.4756. 1943  
 Size:                    11 cm x 15.2 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Red and black line drawing  
 Date:                    Probably 19th Dynasty  
 Parallels:              Peterson 56; larger examples: M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medina*, Turin 1972, No.50 103f.; B. Bruyère, *Les Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)*, 3<sup>e</sup> partie, Cairo 1939, FIFAO 16, p.318, fig. 187 a.o.

This ostrakon has been cut to shape of a stela and would have served as such. It shows a seated man, facing right, before a table of offerings.

As a mark of honour, his chair has been placed on a mat. He wears a shoulder length wig, with an ointment cake, lotus flower (unusual with a man) and a circlet in his hair, a necklace, bracelets, and an anklelength kilt. One hand, bent at the elbow, holds a large lotus flower, while the other is outstretched towards the table of offerings. The chair on which the man sits has the comfortable form usual in the New Kingdom, that is a high, slightly curved back, woven seat and bull legs on short supports. Both seat and side frame were braced against each other.

The flat offering table is on a tall curved stand. On either side of a jug decorated with flowers stands a large round loaf. Underneath the table the upper half of two lettuces is visible.

Above this small offering scene are four short vertical lines of text giving the name and title of the deceased:



"The excellent spirit before Re, Panekhu, the blessed one".

The hieroglyphs are in black, and the lines dividing the inscription in red. The outlines are generally in red with a second line in black over them. The body of the man is coloured red. The stela has a black line framing the scene.

This small funerary stela bears comparison with the best Theban painted relief and provided its owner with a worthy substitute for a more costly monument. We are told nothing more of the man than his name, so it is not possible to assign him to a particular family. However, it is certain that he must have been related to the necropolis workers. As the number of parallels indicate, the stela is one of a large category, and the example which is closest to it is the ostrakon in Stockholm.

#### Notes

- 1) For  $\frac{3}{2}h jqr$ , see B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1934-1935)*, 3<sup>e</sup> partie, Cairo 1939, FIFAO 16, p.151ff.
- 2) See Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen I*, p.113, 14.

*Women*

No.20.            EGA.3115. 1943, recto and verso  
Size:            5.6 cm x 4.7 cm  
Material:        Limestone  
Technique:      Raised relief  
Date:            Ramesside Period

This small limestone flake has been incised on both sides. On the upperside there is the profile of a man's face with the eye, and at the back the pleats of a royal head cloth. The style of workmanship shows that both sides belong together, and it is likely, then, that the profile is that of a king. The fragment was originally larger, and has been broken. It looks like the work of a journeyman craftsman, the lines on the head cloth are uneven, the hand of the sculptor has not infrequently slipped, the edges are not sufficiently smoothed, but on the whole the profile shows the hand of an already advanced apprentice. The ostrakon must belong to the same period as its immediate predecessor.

Usually the artist first painted a line grid on the stone on which he could draft the figures in the relief in their correct proportions. The figures, having been drawn in paint, were chiselled out. First the outline was done, then the surfaces were modelled. In raised relief the background was cut down, as here, to a lower level, and in sunk relief, the background remained at the original level and the figure was cut out. In this example, the artist had already reached the last stage of his work, although it was still not finished.

No.21.            EGA.4751. 1943  
 Size:            5 cm x 7 cm; thickness 2 cm  
 Material:        Limestone  
 Technique:      Black line drawing  
 Date:            18th - 19th Dynasties, based on the stela  
                   type and the style of the drawing  
 Parallels:      For the stela cf. B. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel*  
                   *Empire*, Cairo Catalogue Générale, 34 049 and  
                   34 054

This fragment, broken off in the upper left corner, is carved in the shape of a rectangular stela with torus moulding, projecting base and frame around the scene itself, and is modelled on those found in the official art of the 18th to 19th Dynasties. A hollow groove has been cut just above the torus where one would expect a cavetto cornice. The almost square field within the frame has been used for a small adoration scene. The upper border of the frame is painted with a winged sundisk.

The scene itself has a black line border and consists of a seated female figure on a throne looking towards the right, facing the standing figure of the donor. Between and above the two figures are two vertical columns for inscriptions, left blank. Since there is insufficient space above the head of the female figure for a crown, she cannot be a goddess.

The woman wears the long, tri-partite wig, a necklace and a long close-fitting garment. A piece of cloth has been laid over the back of her low stool. Her left arm is clearly bent, and, as in No.19 she may be holding a lotus flower to her nose. Her right arm lies flat on her lap.

Her partner in the scene is very summarily sketched. He wears a kilt, knotted at the hips, and holds up his right arm in a gesture of adoration, while holding a lotus flower and another small object in his left hand.

This small though worn drawing remains in the best tradition, although it shows some lack of confidence. The proportions of the male figure as well as the very schematic drawing of the limbs, indicate this is a well-intentioned, but minor work of the 18th - 19th Dynasties. It probably served as a pattern for a funerary stela for the mother of the dedicator.

*Animals*

## M a m m a l s

## Monkeys

No.22.            EGA.4292. 1943  
 Size:            9 cm x 11 cm  
 Material:        Limestone  
 Technique:      Black outlines with red and grey paint  
 Date:            18th - 19th Dynasties  
 Bibliography:   Peck, *Drawings*, 105  
 Parallels:      Vandier d'Abbadie 2001-2008 and 2734-2742;  
                   Peterson 105 f.

This sherd, which is the size of the palm of a man's hand, is decorated with a scene of a monkey in a dôm nut palm.

The palm tree stands on a short base line, its foliage and fruit neatly arranged. There are four fan-like leaf clusters, two of which cross over the middle, and five bunches of fruit. The agile monkey, one of the long tailed species, is shown high up the palm trunk, either pilfering on his own account or helping his master with the harvest. The loop around his body shows him to have been a domestic pet. Slightly nervous, he has turned his head to look behind him.

The drawing is of the first quality. The vivacity and grace of the figure of the monkey makes it especially pleasing to the eye. Red has been used for the fruit, the monkey's face, paws and the loop around his waist; the palm fronds are pale red, and the stem and branches of the tree as well as the monkey's body have been painted grey.

The motif, which occurs with many variations of detail, is a frequent one on ostraka, but it is also found on other minor works of art, such as scarabs, toilet implements and spoons. Scenes of pet monkeys picking dates or dôm nuts can be seen also on wall reliefs, at, for example, Beni Hasan, Deir el-bahri, Medînet Hâbu, and Beit el-Wâli.<sup>1)</sup>

Note

- 1) For full description, and bibliography, see E. Brunner-Traut, p.111 f.; J. Vandier d'Abbadie, op.cit, II, 2, p.12-16; ead. in: *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 18, 1966, p.194-198.

No.23.            EGA.4293. 1943  
Size:            12 cm x 8 cm  
Material:        Limestone  
Technique:      Black line drawing, with red, yellow and grey  
                  paint  
Date:            18th - 19th Dynasties  
Parallels:      Vandier d'Abbadie 2035-2043; Peterson 103 f.;  
                  Brunner-Traut 120 (fragment)

This fragment of an ostrakon bears a superb drawing of a monkey. The animal is being driven forward by a man, of whose figure only the legs and the hand holding a stick remain. On the basis of several existing parallels, the man, who is naked, is probably a Nubian.

The monkey, disproportionately large (in relation to the man) is of the long-tailed species, and is shown running swiftly and lightly toward the left. He is in the act of lifting his hindmost foot off the ground, but his head is turned back as if to resist his master's intention to drive him forward. A band has been tied around his body. From the nervous, taut attitude of the head to the rigidly upright tail, the whole figure expresses tension.

The monkey's fur is suggested by a pattern of black strokes. The animal's face, behind, and paws, the band around its body, and the man's legs are all coloured red, the monkey's snout yellow and the rest of his body grey. All the lines are black. In artistic quality, the drawing surpasses almost all others of its class.

## Lions, Cats

No.24.	EGA.4289. 1943, recto and verso
Size:	13.5 cm x 10 cm
Material:	Pink pottery with self slip
Technique:	Red and black line drawing
Date:	Ramesside Period
Bibliography:	J.M.A. Janssen in: <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis VI</i> (5), 1949, p.136 n.21, fig.4.
Parallels:	Brunner-Traut, pl.46 (relief) <sup>1)</sup>

This motif of a lion's head looking to the left occurs three times on the inner and outer surfaces of this fragment from a flat pottery plate. On the inside is a large scale study of the head of a lion with a closed mouth, executed in black paint with quick, broad strokes. The technique is determined by the material, since pottery absorbs much more pigment than fine grained limestone. Underneath this drawing, in red, is the vigorous sketch of the rearing head of a lion about to charge, with open jaws and outstretched tongue as of an attacking animal. On the outside, is a less successful drawing of a lion's head with a closed mouth.

Perhaps one can assume that this drawing is the work of an apprentice painter (there are also traces underneath in red, of a second drawing) whereas the drawings on the inside of the sherd are those of the teacher and designed to serve as models for the student to follow. In any case, the two drawings on the interior are clearly the work of a master artist. At another cultural level, the drawings may be compared with the collages of Picasso and the work of a pop artist.

At a later time some mathematical calculations were scribbled on top of the lions' heads.

Note

1) See also Vandier d'Abbadie 2814 f. and 2818.

No.25.            EGA.3859. 1943  
 Size:            9 cm x 11 cm  
 Material:        Limestone  
 Technique:      Red line drawing  
 Date:            New Kingdom  
 Bibliography:   Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*, London  
                   1949, p.241, pl.LXXXI, 1; Peck, *Drawings*, 121  
 Parallels:      Brunner-Traut 133; Peterson 123; Vandier  
                   d'Abbadie 2723, 2810; B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur  
                   les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)*,  
                   FIFAO, tome XX, Cairo 1948, pl.28, fig.245

This sherd carries the drawing of a seated cat facing towards the right and, fortunately, only a small part of it has broken away at the bottom. The first sketch as well as the final drawing were both made in red paint. This simple portrait was probably a practice piece, and perhaps represents a pet cat such as those which are shown in tomb reliefs under their master's chair.<sup>1)</sup> Although the domestication of cats was begun in Egypt as early as the Old Kingdom, the animal does not appear until the New Kingdom, as the companion of man<sup>2)</sup>.

Several stelae have survived to show that in the New Kingdom, and especially at Deir el-Medīna, cats were worshipped and given such epithets as "beautiful and benevolent"<sup>3)</sup> and "the Cat of the Lady of the Sky (Mut)"<sup>4)</sup>. Unlike the cat associated with the god Re, who always appears under a *persea* tree<sup>5)</sup>, the cat of Mut (as well as that of the Lower Egyptian Bastet) has no particular attributes, so that it is possible that this sketch represents a holy animal, and is therefore votive in character.

#### Notes

- 1) E. Brunner-Traut, p.116, with notes and ead. in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* under 'Lieblingstier'.
- 2) E. Brunner-Traut, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* under 'Domestikation'.
- 3) M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el-Medīna*, Turin, 1972, No.50 053.
- 4) *Le Musée*, I, pl.3
- 5) For example, E. Brunner-Traut 94.

## Fox (with Goat)

No.26.                    EGA.4291. 1943  
 Size:                    10 cm x 11 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Red and black line drawing, with black paint  
 Date:                    Ramesside Period  
 Parallels:               See Introduction, p.11 ff.

On this fragment of stone, about the size of a man's hand, is a scene illustrating a fable, as yet unknown, in which a predator (a hyena) appears as the guardian of a kid.

The main figure, a quadruped walking upright, stands on the right on its own base line above the figure of a young billy goat, whom he holds on a short rein. He has a wide head, painted black, upstanding ears, a thick neck, bristle-like crest, bulging forehead and heavy snout. His bushy tail reaches to the ground, and his front legs, disproportionately long, end in immense 'hands'. The general appearance of the figure seems to fit a hyena most closely, although the tail is more like that of a fox than the brush of a (stripped) hyena. The shape and colour of the head, however, (and the outsize paws,) confirm that it is a hyena, and the choice may result from the animal's evil reputation in Egyptian as in all other folk literature.

The 'master' (who wears a long, ample garment outlined in red) carries in one hand an outsize papyrus staff, a symbol of his rank, and in the other, a cord which is tied at the other end to the horn of the young goat. He uses the cord to control the small animal, which is shown bounding along full of energy, below him. There is an example, in another fable,<sup>1)</sup> of a mouse judge with the same dress, attitude and staff of office as the hyena, since these are all attributes of authority. However, the motif itself is a new one in the fantasy world of ancient Egypt.

The black line drawing was done on top of a red painted sketch.

Note

- 1) See E. Brunner-Traut, *Tiergeschichte*, 5th ed., Darmstadt 1977, p.14, No.12a 1-3.

## Horses

No.27.            EGA.4287. 1943  
 Size:            15 cm x 8.5 cm  
 Material:        Limestone  
 Technique:      Black and red outlines with black and red  
                     paint  
 Date:            New Kingdom  
 Parallels:      Vandier d'Abbadie under E; Peterson 82;  
                     Brunner-Traut 102-104; Daressy 25 122 (Rames-  
                     ses IV)

This fragment, which is about the size of a man's hand, is broken along the upper, left and right sides, but enough remains to indicate a team of horses and chariot in a hunting scene (facing right). The uneven terrain of the desert is represented by rising wavy black lines and dots on a red background. The team of two pied horses (whose bodies are differentiated only by their fore and hind legs) appear at full gallop, with heads set and tails in the air. Putting aside the question of the condition of the piece, the motif is very well rendered, and it is difficult to accept that the scene comes relatively late into the artist's repertoire.

Part of a wheel with eight spokes<sup>1)</sup> is visible, belonging to the chariot, and above the remains of the chariot platform, the outstretched arm of the driver holding the reins can be seen. Behind the horses' heads are three vertical columns prepared for inscriptions, but only the first (on the right) contains any signs. Traces remain of:-



The palette of the scribe provided only two colours, red and black, but this study shows how wide a tonal range could be achieved with them, if use was made of the background colour of the stone.

Note

1) On the number of spokes in a chariot wheel, see E. Brunner-Traut, *op.cit.*, 102, note 7, where the dating criteria of Wolf (he dates a wheel with eight spokes to the period of Tuthmosis IV - Amenophis III) is questioned.

No.28.                    EGA.4552. 1943  
 Size:                    12 cm x 7 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Raised relief  
 Date:                    New Kingdom  
 Parallels:              For horses, see Vandier d'Abbadie under E

On this small ostrakon a relief study has been made of a horse's head facing towards the right. In the New Kingdom when the horse was introduced from the Near East, its form had to be adapted to the canons of the artistic repertoire. For a while, artists strove to reduce this new subject to its definitive form, as these sketches show. This representation is still a long way from what was to become the conventional norm.

The head has small upright ears in accordance with what was to become the ideal, a small deeply cut eye, nostrils slits, and a slightly open mouth. Although the lean face approximates also to the Arabian type - the nape of the long neck does not. Details such as the cheekbones, jowl and the dimple on the chin have been skilfully worked. No tuft of hair on the brow is shown, and the horse's poll is only faintly indicated behind the ear. These characteristics rather than the height of the nostrils may indicate its breed. The nostrils are here shown slit since in ancient times they were not "as wide as the jaws of a lion" as is claimed today for Arabian thoroughbreds.

The frame of the relief, the outline of the head, and the eye hole have been traced over in black ink.

It may be argued that this study has gone astray, and that the inexperienced artist, in seeking to master the form, has not succeeded in producing a wholly convincing image, but the piece still gives pleasure because the essential qualities of the animal are sharply portrayed.

The fragment is broken away at the neck.<sup>1)</sup>

Note

1) See also No.49 for another representation of a horse.

## Seth-Animal

No.29.	EGA.4300. 1943
Size:	9.5 cm x 8 cm
Material:	Limestone
Technique:	Black line drawing over red outline
Date:	New Kingdom
Parallels:	Peterson, 145 in a squatting pose; Brunner-Traut 162 (the god is represented with a sign of life)

This small ostrakon has on the underside the remains of a very faint hieratic inscription, and on the upper side a hieroglyph in the form of the seated Seth-animal, looking towards the right. The animal has a sharp snout, square-tipped ears, and a stump of a tail. The species to which it belongs is not clear, but the date of the ostrakon must be in the 19th Dynasty because the cult of Seth acquired fresh popularity under the ramesside kings and his image appears often in wall scenes. The prototype was probably an animal common in the predynastic period which later disappeared from view with the result that the image became bowlerized.<sup>1)</sup>

Along the right broken edge, part of the outline of a cartouche is visible, which may once have contained the name of one of the ramesside kings.

On the upper broken edge are traces of some vertical red lines.

Note

- 1) In my own opinion, the animal may derive from a giraffe. The giraffe's ears and stumpy horns have been combined into a pair of blunt ears, and it may be noted that like the Seth-animal, the giraffe has a delicate head on a long neck. The steep back may be interpreted as deriving from the animal's seated pose. See, for the most recent suggestions, H. Te Velde, *Seth*, Leiden, 1967, p.13-26; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufs*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 10, 1966, p.84.

## Donkey

No.30.                    EGA.4750. 1943  
Size:                    13 cm x 13 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:              Black line drawing with grey paint  
Date:                    New Kingdom

This ostrakon, which is almost square in shape, bears a charming drawing of a female donkey and her young (facing right) - the only example, incidentally, of this motif among design ostraka. The lines most skilfully reproduce the animals' characteristics, and the smaller proportions of the young donkey are well-judged. Details such as the shoulder stripes (characteristic of the Libyan breed), the mane, the interior of the ears, which are set at right angles to each other, the strong lower jaw, and the udder of the female have been sketched in with confident brush strokes. The tail and the lower part of the right hind leg are now missing.

The foal stands on his mother's left. His body appears below her neck and between her front legs and, as far as one can tell, stands on a higher ground line than the figure of his mother. Her left front leg crosses his body, and hides the rest from the view.

Red spots here and there suggest that a preparatory drawing was made. The bodies of the donkeys have been coloured grey.

## Goats

No.31.                EGA.103. 1949, recto and verso  
 Size:                15 cm x 12.5 cm  
 Material:            Limestone  
 Technique:          Red line drawing with black and yellow paint  
 Date:                Ramesside Period  
 Parallels:          Brunner-Traut 78 (77, 79 and 128); Vandier  
                       d'Abbadie 2191; Daressy 25 118

This sherd has been used for a skilful drawing of a billy-goat, facing towards the right, before a bowl of incense. The surface was originally inscribed with a text in the hieratic, and this has not been completely cleaned off so that it appears through the drawing in several places.

The animal is shown in a walking pose, and has strong, fine curly horns, a short beard and tail, and tufts of hair on his neck, chest, and knees. Before the goat is a bowl of incense with smoke rising from it. The remains of the inscription indicate that part of the sherd has broken away, so that a figure of a man praying may originally have stood at the extreme right.

A second line parallel to the base line has been drawn, thus creating a panel for a horizontal line of inscription. This would have been a dedication text, but the space has been left blank.

The bowl and the goat are painted golden yellow, the horns and tufts of hair black, the outline red.

The billy-goat as well as the ram were holy animals of the god Amun, and it was under this guise that the god was generally worshipped by the necropolis workmen of Thebes. The drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum is one of the most beautiful of this group.

The underside of the fragment carries an inscription, an account concerned with quantities of fish and wood - probably rations for the necropolis workmen. Traces of an inscription underneath the drawing of the goat though not clearly legible, appear to belong to a continuous text rather than an account.<sup>1)</sup>

Note

- 1) Written communication from Mr. Christopher Eyre of Merton College, Oxford, 14th December 1975.

No.32.                    EGA.4553. 1943  
Size:                    10 cm x 11.5 cm  
Material:                Limestone  
Technique:               Sunk relief  
Provenance:             Qurna, acquired December 1915. Note on the  
                             ostrakon  
Date:                     New Kingdom  
Parallels:               Peterson 116

This ostrakon, about the size of a man's hand, and with a large drill hole at the top, shows a pupil's relief sketch. The subject is a man, facing towards the left, dragging a small ibex by its horns. The head, and arm in front are broken off.

The man is shown wearing a knee-length pleated kilt. Around his chest is a broad band whose character is hard to make out because the surface of the sherd has broken away. The man's figure is slender to the point of thinness, although his stomach protrudes slightly and shows two creases, a sign of age, perhaps. His arm, disproportionately long, hangs down stiffly, and the whole figure is slightly distorted. The little ibex has long backward curving horns, their underside forming a half moon, a stiff beard, large eyes and narrow, pointed, upright ears, and a short hanging tail. The rough bristle of the ibex's coat is carefully reproduced by rows of triangles in relief, which are ornamental in themselves. A long, straight stripe is visible from behind the ear to level with the eye. The tethered animal appears to be trying to break away from the man. Its forelegs are in the attitude of springing, while its back legs are still on the ground line, represented now by a black smudge, but which originally extended a little below each of the figures.

The relief demonstrates care for detail, but little skill.

## Cattle

- No.33.            EGA.4297. 1943  
 Size:            8 cm x 7 cm  
 Material:        Limestone  
 Technique:      Black line drawing  
 Date:            New Kingdom  
 Bibliography:   M.A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*,  
                   London 1949, p.242, pl.LXXXII, 2  
 Parallels:      Vandier d'Abbadie under D; Brunner-Traut 106-  
                   116 with parallels

This small fragment of stone carries the simple yet skilled drawing of a bull, striding towards the right. The motif is common in Egyptian art and this example is the product of a stylistic tradition already hundreds of years old. Such bulls are to be found among the wall reliefs of paintings in almost every tomb, in scenes of agriculture, cattle breeding, among processions of offering bearers, or in funerals.<sup>1)</sup>

This particular drawing is an artist's study, and shows faint correction lines in a few places, along the shoulder, the back and the croup.

Note

- 1) Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, p.104 f.

No.34.                    EGA.4288. 1943  
 Size:                    15 cm x 12 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Black outline drawing with red and black paint  
 Date:                    New Kingdom  
 Bibliography:          M.A. Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt*,  
                              London 1949, p.241, pl.LXXXI, 2.  
 Parallels:              Vandier d'Abbadie under C; Peterson 86 ff.;  
                              Brunner-Traut 106-110; Album Bruxelles, pl.44

This ostrakon shows a finally drawn scene of a man driving a bull. The animal is shown walking towards the right, along a base line. The bull moves at a ponderous pace, his head poking forward a little, all his great strength held in check - a figure to command respect. His tail reaches to the ground, and he is most emphatically male. In contrast a wreath of curls clusters on his forehead and from his nose hangs the cord by which the herdsman drives him.<sup>1)</sup>

The drover himself wears a shoulder length wig, and a nobleman's rich, pleated kilt with its hanging point. He leans forward slightly so that his whole body expresses concentration on his difficult task.<sup>2)</sup> On his arm hangs a coil of rope, and in his hand he holds a short, thin stick, with which to guide the bull, or strike him if necessary. The scene is beautifully drawn, and one of the finest examples of its kind.

The body of the man is painted red, the wig and stick black, the bull red with black markings - composed of patterns of dots, stripes and solid patches of colour.

#### Notes

- 1) For the cord compare Vandier d'Abbadie 2064 or 2066; generally the drover guides the animal by its horns or ties a rope to the horns. For another example with the cord attached to the nose see Brussels E.6771, M. Werbrouck in: *Bull. des Musées Royaux* 25, 1953, p.101. fig.16.
- 2) For the dangers of a bull bolting away from its driver, see Peterson 94.

No.35.                EGA.4755. 1943  
 Size:                10 cm x 8 cm  
 Material:            Limestone  
 Technique:          Red and black line drawing with red paint  
 Date:                Ramesside Period

This ostrakon bears an extraordinary scene: above a single line of dedication text, is the representation of a slaughtered ox lying on its back. Parts of the sherd have broken away on the top and along both sides, particularly along the left side where, according to the inscription, a large piece is now missing.

The animal, which is painted red and outlined black, lies flat on its back with its legs raised up, between two offering stands - the base of the bowl is visible on the right hand stand. Only one of the forelegs is drawn, and in such a way as to face the observer, that is, pulled up and with the knee bent so that the hoof appears to be placed upon the animal's stomach. The hooves of the back legs must have stood on the ground, since these legs were also bent at the knee. The animal's long tail is stretched out on the ground and the chest and stomach are sunken. Something which looks like a coil of rope are the beast's entrails, and the throat is laid open.

According to Egyptian custom, the head and right leg of the sacrificed animal were first cut off, then the ribs and the intestines removed. After the foreleg had been severed, the heart was taken out, and together with the head, and the ribs, laid on the offering table. The pieces of meat were brought to the altar immediately after the slaughtering, the heart brought by a running man.<sup>1)</sup>

The unique scene on the ostrakon may be associated with a motive which occurs occasionally among the tomb paintings. We may assume the ostrakon is a votive piece because of the two offering tables behind the sacrificial beast and a dedication text written underneath. The text, written in black ink, reads:-

"(for the ... [title] of good) character (?), Meryre [By?] his beloved son Amenopet."

It is conceivable that the title of the dedicatee was originally given, and is now lost, and if this were so, a substantial piece has broken away from the ostrakon on the left hand side. The scene would in this case have extended beyond the figure of the animal, perhaps to include a man presenting offerings. The inscription indicates that the right side of the scene is complete, since the last few signs were placed below the rest for lack of space. According to its style the ostrakon comes from Deir el-Medīna.

#### Note

- 1) For scenes of slaughtering and disemboweling, see J. Vandier *Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne V*, Paris 1969, pl.9f., p.285 f. and 292ff.; A. Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche im Alten Ägypten*, Dissertation, Munich 1973; for a parallel to the slit throat, see H. Th. Mohr, *Mastaba of Hetepher Akhti*, Leiden 1943, p.75, fig.37; R. Macramallah, *Idout*, Cairo 1935, pl.20; Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka II*, pl.202, 205, 208; H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen Vol. III*, London 1933, pl.XLIV, B; P. Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, London 1951, pl.67; for a similar representation of the intestines, see J. Capart, *Une Rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah*, Bruxelles, 1907, pl.56.

## B i r d s

## Owl

No.36.            EGA.3858. 1943, recto. For verso see No.43  
Size:            9.5 cm x 14.5 cm  
Material:        Limestone  
Technique:      Red and black line drawing  
Date:            New Kingdom  
Bibliography:   Peck, *Drawings*, X  
Parallels:      Peterson 144

This well preserved ostrakon bears a detailed drawing of the upper half of the hieroglyphic sign *m*, an owl (possibly the Barn Owl - *Tyto alba alba*). The initial outline was made in red, and overlaid in black. The arrangement and form of the different feathers has been skilfully and precisely reproduced. The artist has outlined, in a few confident strokes, the owl's heart-shaped face, neatly divided down the middle by his pointed beak. Although an abstraction, details such as the creases above the broad eyes, the circular iris and vertical pupil show the very characteristics of an owl. From the inner corner of each eye, reaching down to his wattle, is a triangle of small rough feathers, and on the bird's forehead are two brow tufts. Although the head is turned full face, the neck, right wing, and left leg (which is just hinted at) are shown in a side view. The drawing may be classified as a study of a model hieroglyph.

## Falcon

No.37.                    EGA.3067. 1943  
 Size:                    12 cm x 12.5 cm  
 Material:                Limestone  
 Technique:              Sunk relief  
 Date:                    Late Period (?)  
 Parallels:              G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, pl.63 (355), pl.65 (354); Daressy, 25 175 (Drawing)

The flat upper face of this fragment of limestone has been used for two relief studies. The design is executed in relief en creux, that is the interior of the figures has been cut away and modelled. Facing towards the right is a standing figure of Horus as a hawk, with a sun disk suspended over his head, and behind him is the isolated head of a second Horus hawk, with a sun disk and uraeus above it.

The structure of the different parts of the body of the standing hawk are very accurately rendered so that the face, the wing feathers, the limbs and wings of the hands, the underside of the tail feathers,<sup>1)</sup> the down on the bird's belly (including the cloaca) the 'fringes' on his 'trousers' (the ornithologists' term) are all contrasted with each other. The wing band has been drawn below the wing coverings, whose feathers, quill and beard, carefully marked, overlap each other with the regularity of brickwork. Two coloured stripes seem to be indicated on the trousers, and similarly the horizontal lines at the end of the wings may represent different colours. The horny skin of the legs below the 'trousers' is well expressed. It is the detail which gives this exercise its value, by demonstrating analytically how the form of a bird can be built up from various kinds of feathering. The resulting figure is at best correct, it is in no sense a work of art.

The head with a black line around the pupil of the eye, is represented in a cursory way, whereas the head on the left, although at a larger scale shows finer detail - and a completely black pupil. The differences between the two heads suggest that they belong to different categories and that the one may belong to the representations of the god with a man's body, which would also explain the man's wig. Above the head

is a sun disk, which has an intended centre point like the disk next to it, and a uraeus serpent curled around it; its head rearing up above the falcon's forehead, and its tail hanging stiffly, like a stick, behind the bird's head.

Both representations are the work of students, and belong to the repertory of motives of the relief studies of the Late Period. As a general determinative for divinity, as the bird of Horus, and symbol of kingship, the falcon<sup>2)</sup> was a cult image of the greatest significance.

#### Notes

- 1) The rules of aspective (for aspective see E. Brunner-Traut in: H. Schäfer *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ed. John Baines, Oxford, 1974, pp.421-446; ead., in: W. Helck and E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden 1973, Band I, pp.474-487) make it possible that the upper side of the tail was intended.
- 2) The identification of the Horus bird as either a falcon or a sparrow-hawk is still disputed. Although the falcon has been preferred because of the size of his wings. The short 'trousers', especially prominent on later representations, derive from the fact that men no longer based themselves on observation of the actual bird, but passed on a traditional design, which, as time went by, diverged more and more from the reality. For this reason it is not possible to determine the species from the relief.

## Vulture

No. 38.	EGA.3126. 1943, recto. For verso see No.45
Size:	5 cm x 7.8 cm
Material:	Limestone
Technique:	Raised relief
Date:	Ptolemaic Period (?)
Parallels:	Brunner-Traut 157 (painted and facing left); G. Steindorff, <i>Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery</i> , Baltimore 1946, pl.63 (353A, 350A); and see also below, note 1

The sign carved in relief on the smoothed surface of this piece of stone is the vulture (*Gyps fulvus*) hieroglyph, facing right. The essential characteristics of the great predatory bird are unmistakable, though drawn with great economy. Power is expressed in every line of the body and its strong legs. The relief shows clearly the short hooked beak, the long upper jaw resting on the short lower jaw. Even the parchment-like skin dividing the eye from the beak is shown. The unfledged face is dominated by the large round eye.

The wing and tail are very large, just as they are in nature, and the feathering on the legs looks like 'trousers'. The powerful, short feet, with their long sharp, curved claws, appear to bite into the ground.

A glance at the other side of the fragment which shows a cobra, suggests that this vulture is not to be understood as a votive piece dedicated to the goddess Mut, honoured at Thebes as the partner of Amun, but rather represents the upper Egyptian goddess Nekhbet<sup>1)</sup> who forms a pair with the cobra goddess of lower Egypt, Edjo, represented on the reverse.

Images of the two goddesses, usually shown standing on baskets, appear as protectors of the king, in royal jewellery and insignia, for example, they often stand on the king's brow in the place of the uraeus.<sup>2)</sup>

Both sketches belong to the small group of motives taken from hieroglyphic signs.

Notes

- 1) For the two goddesses shown together, see Berlin 8173 in: E. Brunner-Traut, p.97, fig.24, with p.86 n.5; Steindorff, *op.cit.*, pl.63 (350B, 351A, 352A).
- 2) See Bonnet, *Realexicon*, under Nechet.

## Swallow

No.39.            EGA.3141. 1943, recto and verso.  
Size:            12.1 cm x 7.6 cm  
Material:        Limestone  
Technique:      Raised relief  
Date:            Ptolemaic Period  
Parallels:      Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, 1967, Katalog No.  
                  985 f., p. 101

This sculptor's trial piece shows the hieroglyph of a swallow standing on a ledge which is also part of the frame for the sketch. Feathers are indicated only on the throat, underside, tail and, to some extent, on the wing cases, the rest of the relief is unfinished. The work remains awkward and clumsy. The swallow is one of the birds most frequently represented on trial pieces.

There are traces of an inscription below the bird's feet - and two lines of demotic text on the reverse of the fragment.

## Ibis

No.40.                    EGA.3221. 1943  
Size:                    4.5 cm x 5.2 cm; thickness 2.7 cm  
Material:                Fine, white limestone  
Technique:               Sunk relief  
Date:                    Late Period (?)

This squared off fragment of stone has been incised with the image of an ibis (*Ibis Religiosa*) advancing briskly towards the left. His beak shows a remarkably gentle curve and the figure is represented only in outline, except for the eye and the rim of the wing. Perhaps this is a votive piece dedicated to Thoth<sup>1)</sup> coming from one of the Catacombs of the sacred ibis, like those, for example, at Saqqâra.

Note

1) For the identification of Thoth with the ibis, see Catalogue No.2.

## Quail Chick

No.41. EGA.4761. 1943, recto and verso  
 Size: 18 cm x 13 cm  
 Material: Limestone  
 Technique: Black line drawing  
 Date: New Kingdom  
 Parallels: Peterson, 145 (top row); G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1946, pl.65 (358A, Relief, Late Period)

This fragment, about the size of a man's hand, shows two quail chicks, facing towards the right, where a piece has broken off, taking with it the head of the right chick which stands on its own base line at a slightly lower level. The young birds have been skilfully drawn in outline, with the addition of a few more lines, to indicate the face, wings and downy feathers. Below are illegible traces of red and black lines. This is an apprentice's practice piece for the hieroglyph *w*.

On the reverse are the remains of four vertical lines of text from the book of Kemit,<sup>1)</sup> written in the hieratic script with red dividing lines.

Note

1) Kemit is the title of a model letter of instruction dating originally to the First Intermediate Period. As a school text, it was often copied in the New Kingdom, retaining its archaic style. See G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires* (Documents de FIFAO, tome 18), Cairo 1951, pl.1-21. - Translation: W. Barta, in: *ZÄS* 105, 1978, p.6 ff. See also the following number.

## R e p t i l e s

## Crocodile

No.42.            EGA.4758. 1943  
 Size:            20 cm x 15 cm  
 Material:        Limestone  
 Technique:      Red and black ink drawing  
 Date:            New Kingdom

The ostrakon is inscribed with five lines of text from the Book of Kemit, §§ I, II, III,<sup>1)</sup> with dividing lines in red ink.

At right angles to the text, using the first division line as ground line, a sketch of the head of a crocodile-headed god (Sobek ?), facing right, has been made, in a rapid, confident hand, in black ink on top of a red first draught. The figure is not related to the text.

Below the text, equally at right angles to it, but facing towards the left, is the head of a man wearing a head band and necklace. It is drawn in black ink, but only preserved as far as the shoulders, very much worn, and scarcely visible.

Note

1) See note on preceding entry, No.41.

## Snakes

No.43. EGA.3858. 1943, verso. For recto see No.36  
 Size: 9.5 cm x 14.5 cm  
 Material: Limestone  
 Technique: Red and black line drawing with red and black painting  
 Date: Ramesside Period  
 Parallels: Brunner-Traut 89 (for crown, and coil of the snake's body); Peterson 35, 36, 38 (for sign on the snake's body)

This ostrakon shows a representation of a snake goddess, on a pedestal, the cobra (*Naja haje*, Greek: *Aspis*) of *Meresger*.<sup>1)</sup> Her crown, made up of a circlet supporting horns, a sun disk and upright feathers, is painted over a chip in the stone. On the front of her body is an ornament similar to the symbol of the goddess *Neith* (  ). The decoration on the rest of the snake's body is skilfully represented by rows of slanting dots, on the first coil they are dark and very close together, in the lower coils they are much lighter and widely spaced. The dots near the outline are painted black, the others as well as details such as the sun disk, feathers, circlet, and pedestal are painted red.

Note

1) For this goddess see B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger*, in: *MIFAO* 58, 1930.

No.44.                    EGA.3120. 1943,recto and verso  
Size:                    3 cm x 4 cm  
Material:                Smooth, greyish stone  
Technique:               Raised relief  
Date:                    New Kingdom (?)

This flake of a greyish hard stone is decorated on both sides with unusually fine relief figures, on one side, of a rearing cobra (facing right) and on the other, within a cut out square, a Wedjat-eye, (facing right). Both figures are sharply cut and modelled with the greatest skill. The face of the cobra is incised. The two images on this small masterpiece come together in the cult of the goddess Edjo, who is represented by both the cobra and the eye<sup>1</sup>); however, it is also possible that the piece was used as an amulet against snake bite.

Note

- 1) For this complex symbolism, see H. Bonnet, *Realexikon*, under Uto, and E. Brunner-Traut, "Agyptische Mythen im Physiologus", in: *Festschrift Siegfried Schott*, Wiesbaden 1968, p.39 ff.

No.45. EGA.3126. 1943, verso. For recto see No.38  
Size: 5 cm x 7.8 cm  
Material: Limestone  
Technique: Raised relief  
Date: Ptolemaic Period (?)  
Parallels: See under No.38

This flat rectangular piece of stone carries a design in relief on both sides. On the upperside is a vulture and on the underside, used lengthways, within a cut out frame, is the representation of a rearing cobra, coiled up on a *nb* (meaning basket) hieroglyphic sign. The frame is open on the lower left side as is the usual practice with such pieces. Although the outline of the eye has been incised, the flat surface of the figure shows that the relief is unfinished. Moreover the background has been only roughly cut down and lacks the characteristic smoothness of finished Egyptian relief. Neither the modelling or the inside lines have begun, but as it stands, judging by the outline and composition, it is probable that the figure has been cut by the same artist as that on the upperside. It is equally obvious that the two figures belong together, as the symbols of the two crown goddesses, the cobra being identified with Edjo, and the vulture with Nekhbet - although contrary to common practice the vulture is not shown standing on a basket.<sup>1)</sup>

Note

1) For the significance of this, see No.38.

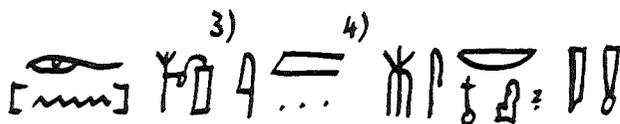
No.46. EGA.4324. 1943, verso. For recto see No.14  
 Size: 13.5 cm x 15 cm  
 Material: Limestone  
 Technique: Black line drawing  
 Date: New Kingdom  
 Parallels: Vandier d'Abbadie 2655 - 2658; 3011 f; E.  
 Brunner-Traut 86-90 (with parallels); Peterson  
 35 and 38; L. Keimer, in *Etudes d'Egyptologie*,  
 fasc. III, Cairo 1941, pl.13 No.44. There are  
 other similar ostraka showing slight variants  
 of style, costume and execution

This ostrakon preserves the left half of a stela dedi-  
 cated to the snake goddess Meresger (facing right) identified

by her name  Only one raised arm, and knee covered

with his long kilt remains of the figure of the kneeling de-  
 dicant.

The worm-shaped<sup>1)</sup> body of the snake, a viper, is wound  
 into two tall coils, and stands above a line of inscription.  
 Between the egg shaped head and the short,<sup>2)</sup> pointed tail the  
 body is decorated with horizontal stripes.<sup>3)</sup> The inscription  
 names the dedicant as:-



The ostrakon is a votive piece dedicated by one of the  
 necropolis workmen of Deir el-Medīna, and probably from the  
 shrine of Meresger. People were in considerable<sup>5)</sup> danger both  
 in the necropolis, and in the workmen's village<sup>6)</sup> which was  
 situated in the desert, from snake bite, and this may be the  
 origin of dedications to various snake goddesses, especially  
 those to the "Lady of the West", an epithet of Meresger. Her  
 name "She loves silence", derives from her dwelling place -  
 the Western desert of Thebes, the abode of the blessed dead  
 resting in their tombs. The hill of el-Qurn, a natural pyra-  
 mid, which dominates the village of Deir el-Medīna, and the  
 surrounding widespread necropolis, provides her with another  
 title "The Lady of the Peak".<sup>6)</sup>

Notes

- 1) For the shape, cf. B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger* in: MIFAO 58 1930, fig.45, p.106.
- 2) But compare No.47.
- 3) For sš written in reverse, see Gardiner, *Grammar*, 3rd edition, p.534 (Y4), and for sš written with a yodh, see *Wb III*, 479, 14.
- 4) In these signs one has to see the name of the donor, probably not *kw̄t-nbw*.
- 5) See no.6.
- 6) See E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Alten Ägypter*, Stuttgart, 2nd ed., 1976, p.132-134, and 158.

No.47.                    EGA.288. 1949  
Size:                    8 cm x 11 cm; thickness: 2.5 cm  
Material:                Fine limestone  
Technique:              Deeply incised relief  
Date:                    Roman Period

This piece of stone has been cut down to the shape of a trapezoid, and on its flat upper surface is a clumsily incised drawing of a snake, facing left. Following the rules of aspective,<sup>1)</sup> the figure may be interpreted as showing the snake's body winding along the ground. The body is short and broad, but the species is not identifiable. The snake wears a pointed chin beard and the crown of the goddess Isis as it is depicted in the Roman period. Curved lines are used to indicate the cylindrical shape of the reptile's body, and this device may show some understanding of the rules of Graeco-Roman perspective.<sup>2)</sup> The mouth is slightly open, and the tongue darts forward. This is probably a votive plaque dedicated to Isis in Roman times, and perhaps hung up in a temple.

The back shows a transverse groove at the level of the present suspension hole. It is the remains of an earlier hole made at right angles to the present one. In making it, the stone broke, the surface was then smoothed down and the present hole drilled. I presume the piece was originally supported on a square base, and was being prepared for another use when the hole was made.

#### Notes

1) See No.37, note 1.

2) See No.46.

## I n s e c t s ( S c a r a b a e u s )

No.48.            EGA.104. 1949  
Size:            6.5 cm x 9.2 cm  
Material:        Limestone  
Technique:      Black line drawing  
Date:            New Kingdom  
Parallels:      Peterson 44; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the  
Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*,  
Baltimore 1946, pl.65 (359 relief, Late Period)

At first glance this piece seems to be not an ostrakon, but a fragment fallen from a wall painting. However the upper surface of the stone has not been dressed for a mural and is not quite flat, but slightly concave, in contrast to the other five sides which have been trimmed and smoothed down.

The piece shows a detailed drawing of the back of a scarab. The beetle (*scarabaeus sacer*) with its characteristic head, legs and markings, occurs frequently in the scenes in royal tombs, as a symbol of the young sun god Chepri, and as a hieroglyphic sign.<sup>1)</sup>

Note

- 1) For the scarab, see E. Brunner-Traut, "Der Skarabäus" in: *Antaios* 6, 1965, p.570-580; E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Mainz, 1976.

*Miscellaneous fragments*

- No.49. EGA.3129. 1943, recto and verso  
 Size: 13 cm x 9-12 cm  
 Material: Limestone  
 Technique: Incised line drawing and sunk relief  
 Date: New Kingdom  
 Parallels: Brunner-Traut, pl.46 (Berlin 20 671); *ibid.*,  
 p.127, fig. 35 f. (Hand); Peterson, 18 (Hand);  
 Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore  
 1946, pl.60 (325B) and pl.61, (326B Ears);  
 W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II, Cambridge,  
 Mass. 1959, p.363, fig.229 (Drawing of an ear)

This flake, or rather lump, of limestone has designs cut in relief on two of its three surfaces.

On one side in sunk relief is a large ear, with a pierced lobe, and next to it, at right angles, is a horse's head (facing left), with a bridle and reins, and an elaborate parade head-dress.

On the underside, again incised, but with a slight modelling of the surface, are a series of sketches; another ear also with a pierced lobe, a king's head (facing left) wearing a very high Upper Egyptian crown, but without beard or uraeus, an outstretched hand with very long fingers, another with shorter ones (pointing in the opposite direction) and both with bracelets on the wrist. Both sketches are in bad condition, part of the smaller hand has come away with a chip in the stone, and a deep, deliberately cut groove has destroyed part of the other.

All the figures are the work of beginners, only the horse's head on the upper side shows a more experienced hand.<sup>1)</sup>

Note

1) For the horse, see also No.28.

### Conclusion

The collection of ostraka in the Fitzwilliam Museum is the most important and wide-ranging museum collection in Great Britain. For the most part they come from Deir el-Medîna, which was, in the 18th - 20th Dynasties, the centre of artistic activity, but there are also artists' sketches in relief as well as painting, from other sites and periods of time. These flakes of stone have provided a medium for master craftsmen as well as apprentices, for whimsical drawings, the product of a moment's inspiration, and for modest memorials dedicated to the gods, for sketches and for careful plans, and in one case, for the illustration of a popular fable. Limestone is the most common material, but other stones, as well as pottery have been used.

Several of the motives which appear in this collection are unique:- the gateway (No.1), the stonemason (No.14), the water carrier (No.15), the hyena and the kid (No.26), the donkey and her young (No.30), the slaughtered beast (No.35). Others, like the drawing of the goddess Astarte on horseback (No.5), add to the number of known examples of important subjects, others occur in new versions, or confirm the artist's canon. Not all the themes in the drawings belong to the repertory of scenes used for the decoration of tomb and temple walls, some come from a particular source of their own. A few perhaps reflect the scenes once painted on the walls of houses, we do not know. Others give us a glimpse of an informal and witty artistic style, which, in contrast to the official art, was intentionally ephemeral, and has otherwise disappeared.

A b b r e v i a t i o n s<sup>1)</sup>

- Bonnet, Reallexikon = Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952
- Brunner-Traut = Emma Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1956
- Daressy = Georges Daressy, *Ostraca. Cat. Gén. des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Nos. 25 001 - 25 385, Cairo 1901
- FIFAO = *Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie*, tome 1 ff., Cairo, 1924 ff.
- JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*, Vol. 1 ff., London 1914 ff.
- JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 1 ff., Chicago 1942 ff.
- MIO = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschungen*, Bd. 1 ff., Berlin, 1953 ff.
- Peterson = Bengt E.J. Peterson, *Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt*, Medelhavsmuseet, Bulletin 7-8, Stockholm 1973
- Vandier d'Abbadie = Jeanne Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médineh. Documents de fouilles publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire*, II, 1-4, Cairo 1936 - 1959
- ZÄS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Bd. 1 ff., Leipzig, 1863 ff.

Note

- 1) After this work had been completed, W.H. Peck, *Drawings from Ancient Egypt*, London, 1978 - here cited as Peck, *Drawings* - has appeared, and includes the prize pieces in our catalogue, Nos. 1, 5, 14, 22, 25 and 36.

## Important publications of figured ostraka

Brunner-Traut, *op.cit.*

Brunner-Traut, Emma, *Altägyptische Buchmalerei und Bildostraka*, in: *Propyläenkunstgeschichte ...*  
Berlin 1975

Daressy, *op.cit.*

Keimer, Louis, *Sur un certain nombre d'ostraca figurés, de plaquettes sculptées, etc.*, in: *Etudes d'Égyptologie*, fasc. 3, Cairo 1941

Peterson, *op.cit.*

Vandier d'Abbadie, *op.cit.*

Werbrouck, Marcelle, *Ostraca à figures*, in: *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Bruxelles, Bulletin, series 3, années 4, 6, 11 und 25, Brüssel 1932, 1934, 1939 und 1953

## C o n c o r d a n c e s

<u>Catalogue number</u>	<u>Inventory number</u>	
1	EGA.4298.1943	recto and verso <sup>1)</sup>
2	EGA. 105.1949	
3	EGA.4753.1943	recto and verso
4	EGA.4752.1943	
5	EGA.4290.1943	
6	EGA.4299.1943	
7	EGA.4509.1943	
8	EGA.4286.1943	
9	EGA.3133.1943	
10	EGA.3130.1943	recto and verso
11	EGA.4724.1943	
12	EGA.3111.1943	
13	EGA. 102.1949	
14	EGA.4324.1943	recto (for verso see No.46)
15	EGA. 106.1949	
16	EGA.4507.1943	
17	EGA.4508.1943	
18	EGA.3110.1943	recto and verso
19	EGA.4756.1943	
20	EGA.3115.1943	recto and verso
21	EGA.4751.1943	
22	EGA.4292.1943	
23	EGA.4293.1943	
24	EGA.4289.1943	recto and verso
25	EGA.3859.1943	
26	EGA.4291.1943	
27	EGA.4287.1943	
28	EGA.4552.1943	
29	EGA.4300.1943	
30	EGA.4750.1943	
31	EGA. 103.1949	recto and verso
32	EGA.4553.1943	
33	EGA.4297.1943	
34	EGA.4288.1943	
35	EGA.4755.1943	
36	EGA.3858.1943	recto (for verso see No.43)
37	EGA.3067.1943	

1) recto = obverse; verso = reverse

38	EGA.3126.1943	recto (for verso see No.45)
39	EGA.3141.1943	recto and verso
40	EGA.3221.1943	
41	EGA.4761.1943	recto and verso
42	EGA.4758.1943	
43	EGA.3858.1943	verso (for recto see No.36)
44	EGA.3120.1943	recto and verso
45	EGA.3126.1943	verso (for recto see No.38)
46	EGA.4324.1943	verso (for recto see No.14)
47	EGA. 288.1949	
48	EGA. 104.1949	
49	EGA.3129.1943	recto and verso

<u>Inventory number</u>	<u>Catalogue number</u>
EGA. 102.1949	13
EGA. 103.1949 recto and verso	31
EGA. 104.1949	48
EGA. 105.1949	2
EGA. 106.1949	15
EGA. 288.1949	47
EGA. 3067.1943	37
EGA. 3110.1943 recto and verso	18
EGA. 3111.1943	12
EGA. 3115.1943 recto and verso	20
EGA. 3120.1943 recto and verso	44
EGA. 3126.1943 recto	38
EGA. 3126.1943 verso	45
EGA. 3129.1943 recto and verso	49
EGA. 3130.1943 recto and verso	10
EGA. 3133.1943	9
EGA. 3141.1943 recto and verso	39
EGA. 3221.1943	40
EGA. 3858.1943 recto	36
EGA. 3858.1943 verso	43
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EGA. 4287.1943	27
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EGA. 4289.1943 recto and verso	24
EGA. 4290.1943	5
EGA. 4291.1943	26
EGA. 4292.1943	22
EGA. 4293.1943	23
EGA. 4297.1943	33
EGA. 4298.1943 recto and verso	1
EGA. 4299.1943	6
EGA. 4300.1943	29
EGA. 4324.1943 recto	14
EGA. 4324.1943 verso	46
EGA. 4507.1943	16
EGA. 4508.1943	17
EGA. 4509.1943	7
EGA. 4552.1943	28
EGA. 4553.1943	32
EGA. 4724.1943	11
EGA. 4750.1943	30

CONCORDANCES

87

EGA.4751.1943	21
EGA.4752.1943	4
EGA.4753.1943	3
EGA.4755.1943	35
EGA.4756.1943	19
EGA.4758.1943	42
EGA.4761.1943	41

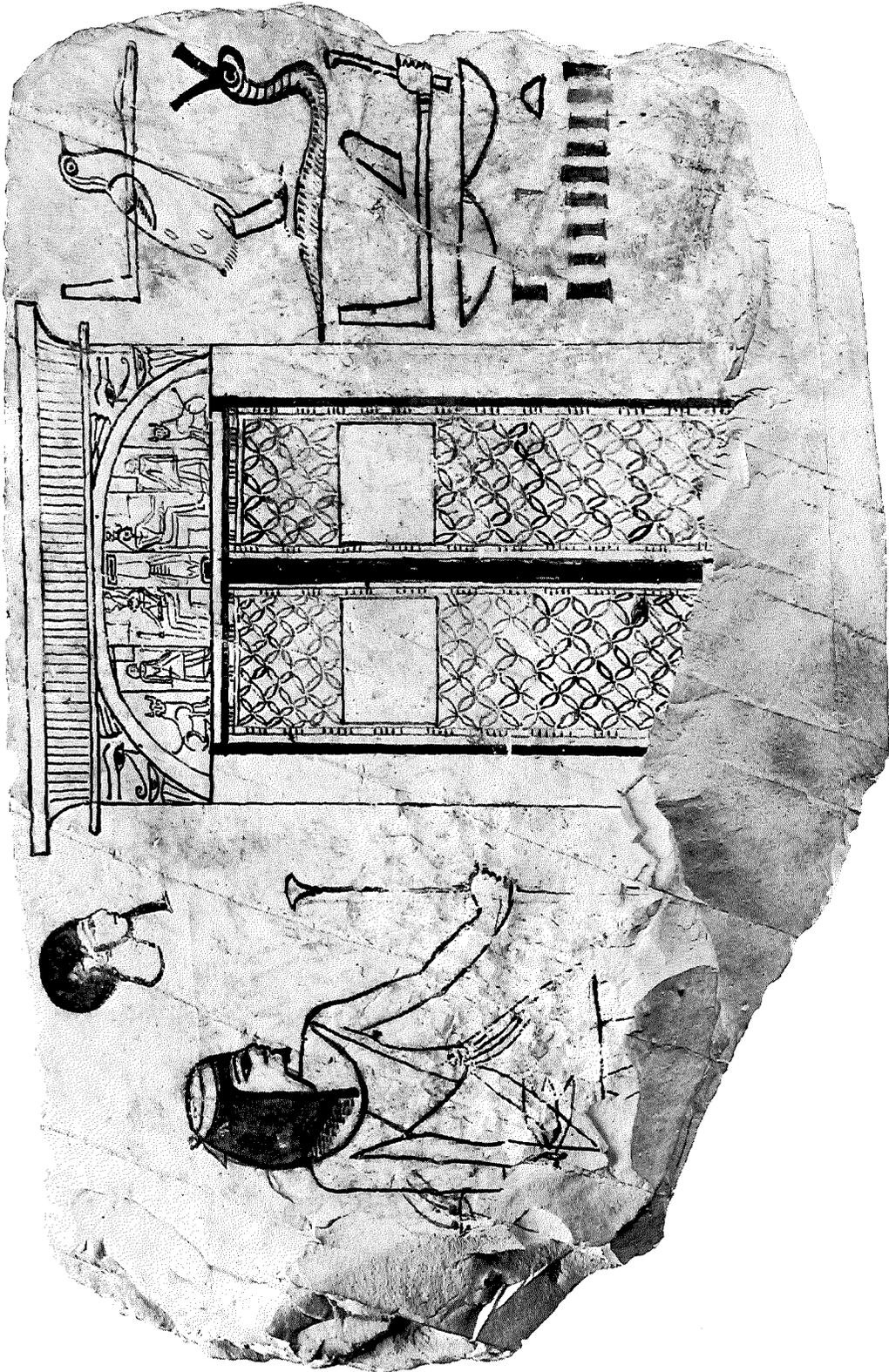
## C h r o n o l o g i c a l T a b l e

The beginning of history, the discovery of writing	circa 3000 B.C.
Early Dynastic Period, 1st and 2nd Dynasties	approx. 3000 - 2665 B.C.
Old Kingdom, 3rd - 6th Dynasties	approx. 2665 - 2155 B.C.
First Intermediate Period, 7th - 10th Dynasties	2155 - 2130 B.C.
Middle Kingdom, 11th - 14th Dynasties	2130 - 1650 B.C.
Second Intermediate Period, 14th - 17th Dynasties	1650 - 1551 B.C.
New Kingdom, 18th - 20th Dynasties	1551 - 1080 B.C.
18th Dynasty	1551 - 1305 B.C.
Kings: Amosis, Ahmose-Nefer- tiry (Queen)	
Amenophis I	
Thuthmosis I, and II	
Hatshepsut	
Thuthmosis III	
Amenophis II	
Thuthmosis IV	
Amenophis III	
Amenophis IV - Akhen- aten	
Smenkhkare	
Tutankhamun	
Ay	
Horemheb	
19th Dynasty	1305 - 1196 B.C.
Kings: Ramesses I	
Sethos I	
Ramesses II	
Merneptah	
Sethos II	
Siptah	
Queen Tewosret	
20th Dynasty	1196 - 1080 B.C.
Kings: Sethnakhte	
Ramesses III - XI	
Third Intermediate Period, 21st - 24th Dynasties	1080 - 712 B.C.
Late Period, 25th - 30th Dynasties	712 - 332 B.C.
Ptolemaic Period	332 - 30 B.C.
Roman Period	30 B.C. - 395 A.D.

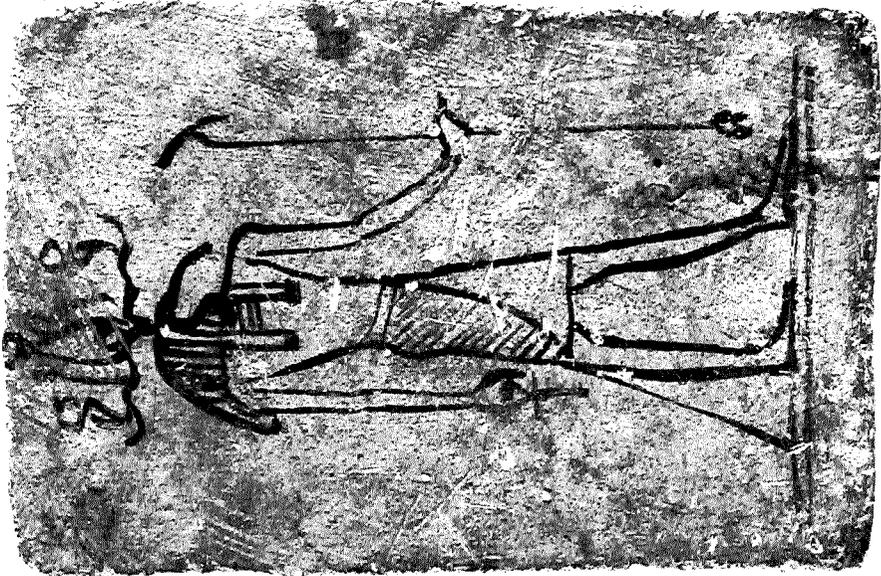
## Sources of the figures in the text:

- Fig. 1: Vandier d'Abbadie, 2337
- Fig. 2: Vandier d'Abbadie, 2858
- Fig. 3: Vandier d'Abbadie, 2568
- Fig. 4: Brunner-Traut, 78
- Fig. 5: Brunner-Traut, Tiergeschichte, Abb. 31
- Fig. 6: Brunner-Traut, Tiergeschichte, Abb. 36
- Fig. 7: Brunner-Traut, Tiergeschichte, Abb. 37

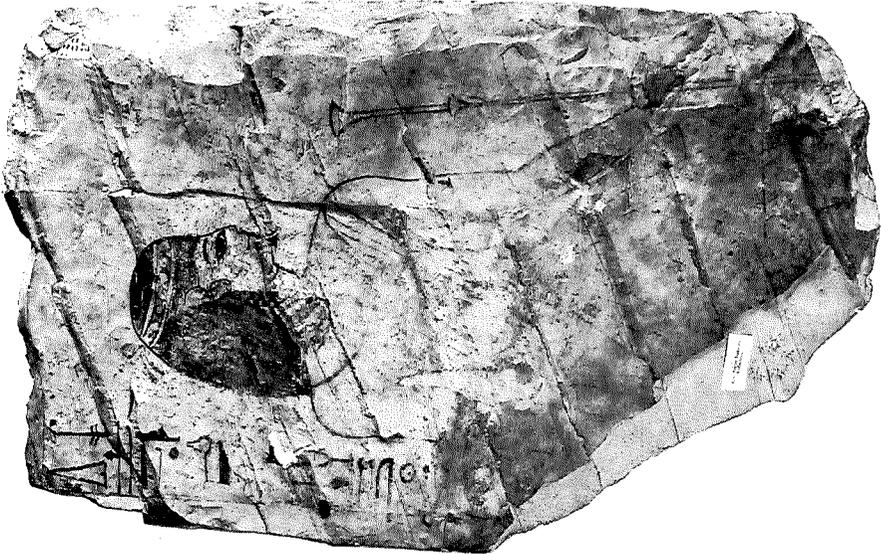




I. EGA 4298 - 1943 (recto)



2. E 105-1949



1. EGA 4298-1943 (verso)



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3. EGA 4753-1943 (recto)



3. EGA 4753-1943 (verso)



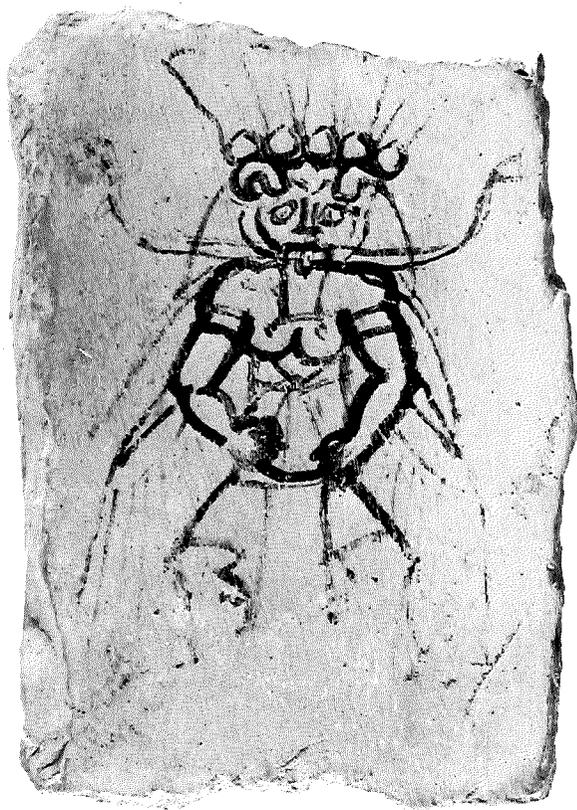
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4. EGA 4752-1943



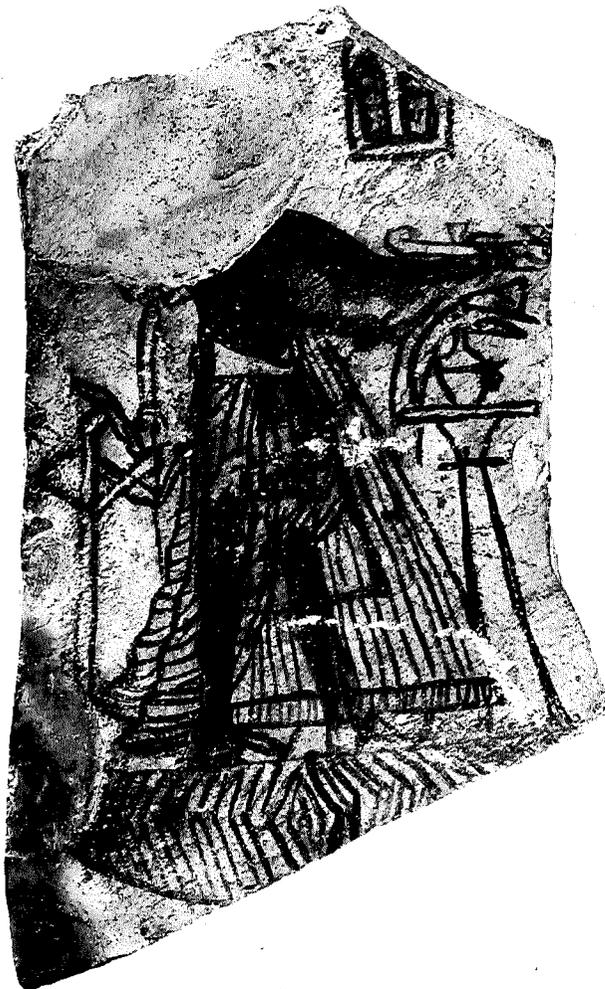
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6. EGA 4299-1943



7. EGA 4509-1943



8. EGA 4286-1943



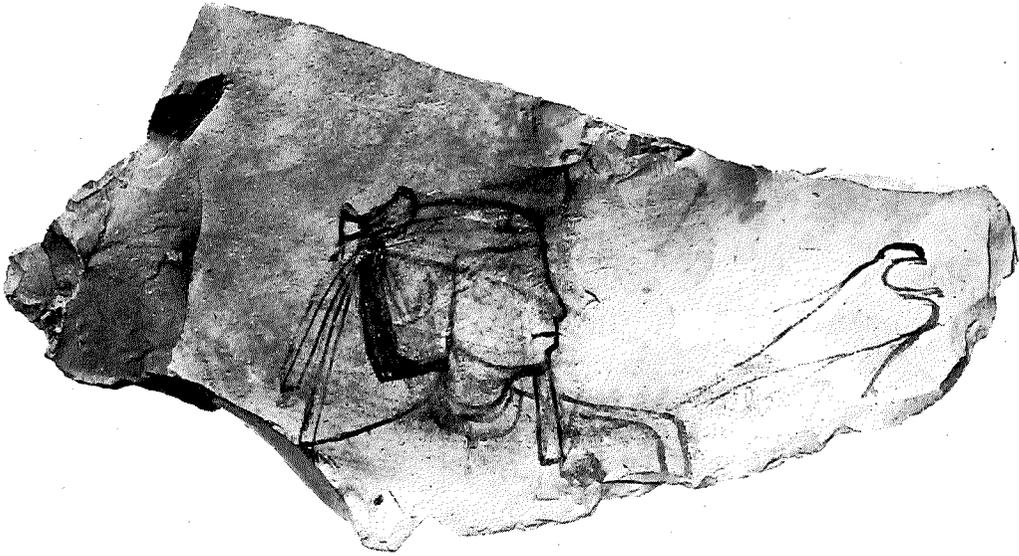
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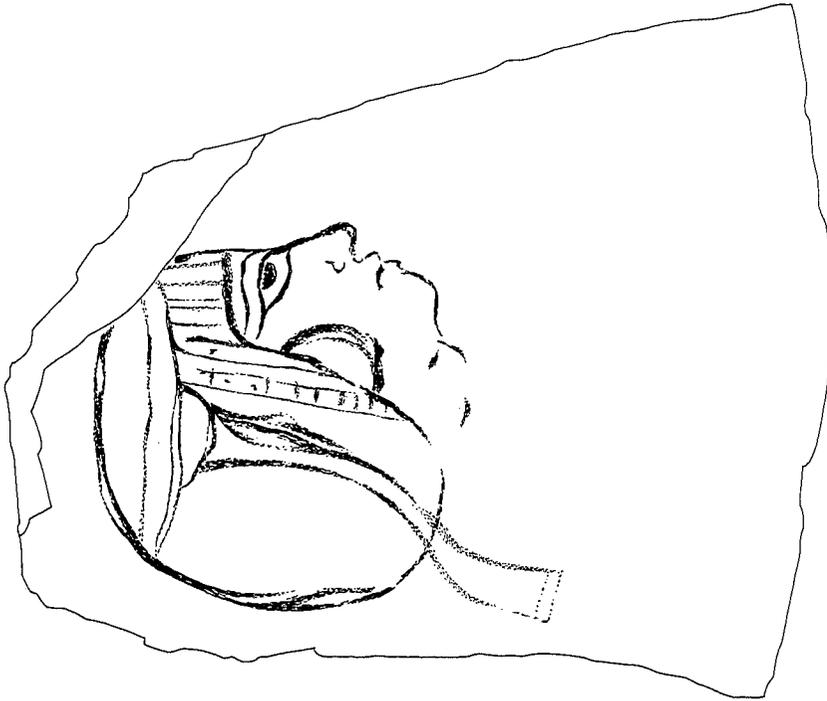
11. EGA 4724-1943



11. EGA 4724-1943



12. EGA 3111-1943



13. EGA 102-1949



13. EGA 102-1949



15. EGA 106-1949



14. EGA 4324-1943 (recto)  
(for verso see No. 46)



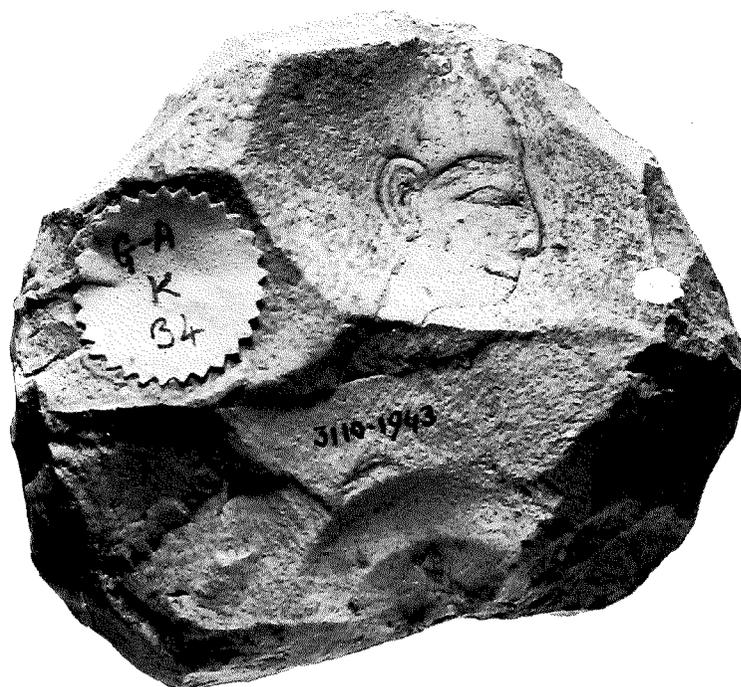
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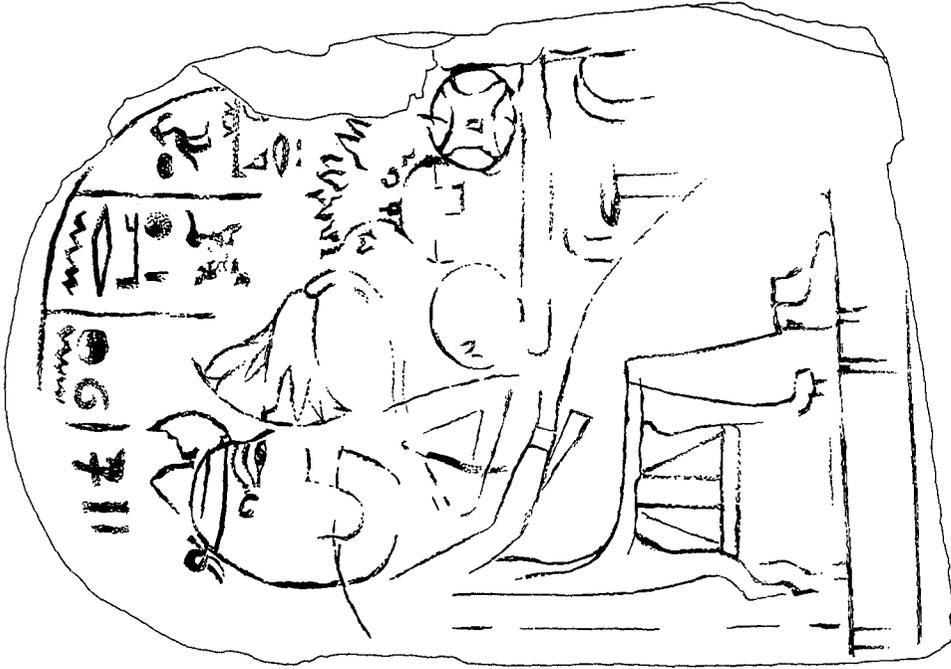
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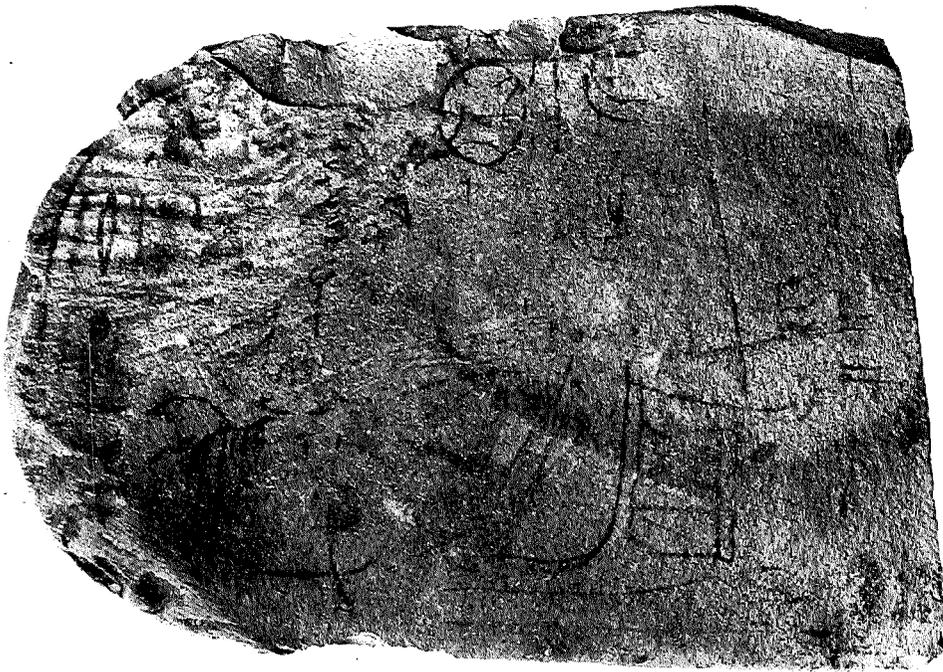
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18. EGA 3110-1943 (verso)



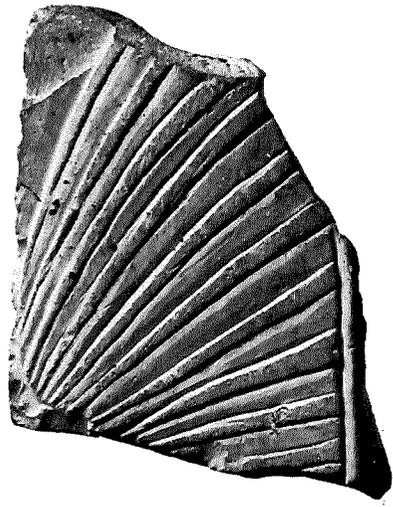
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19. EGA 4756-1943



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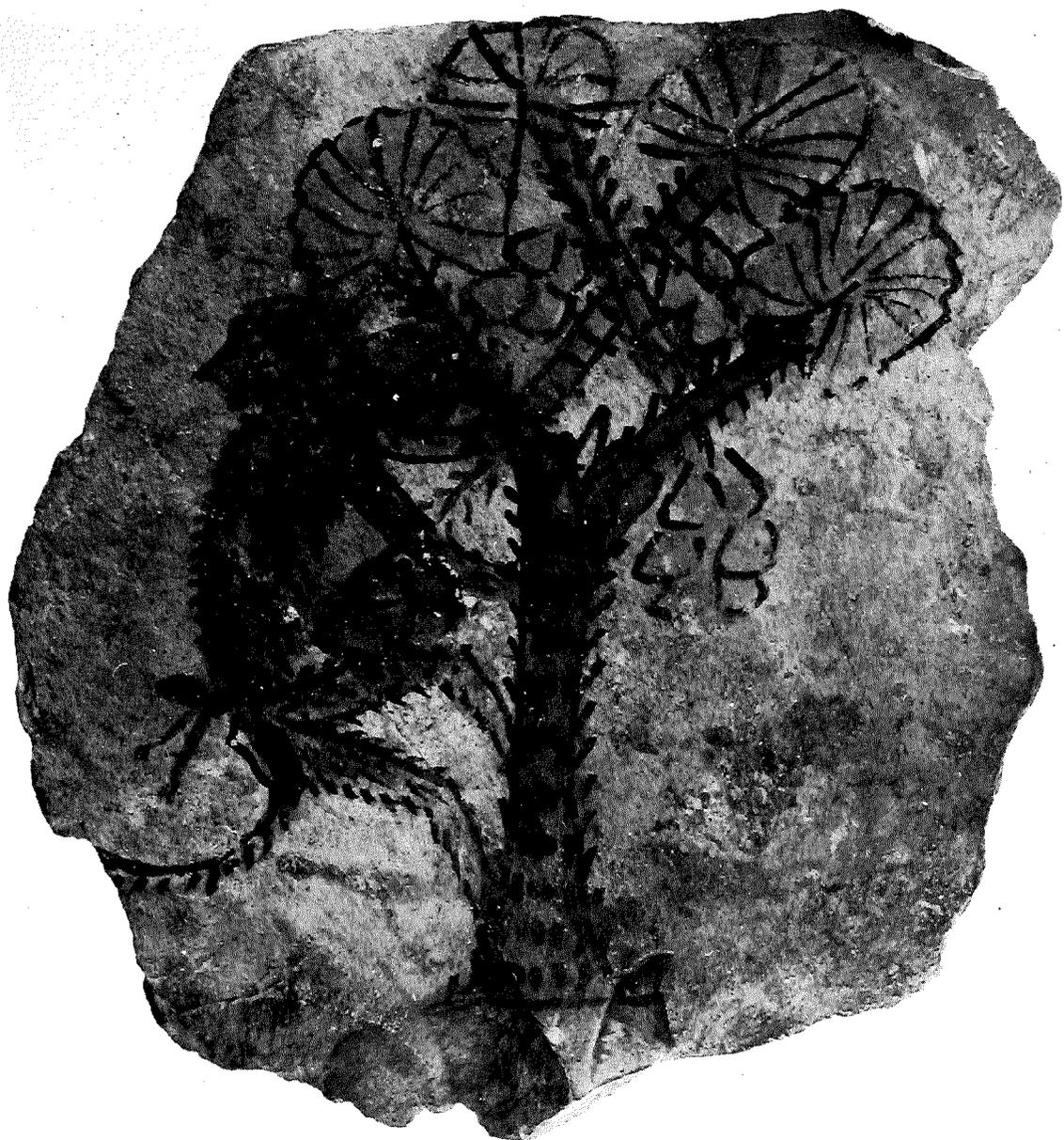
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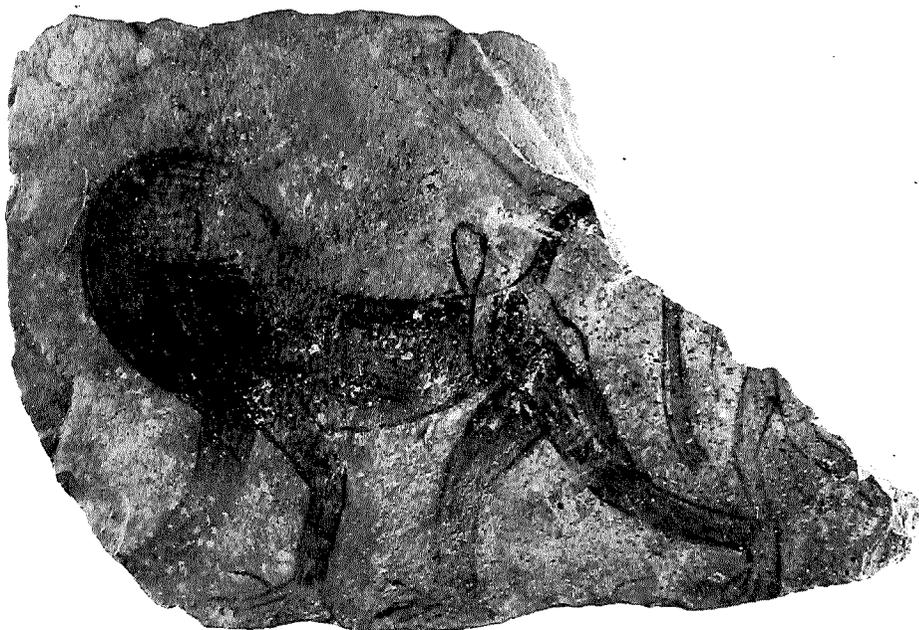
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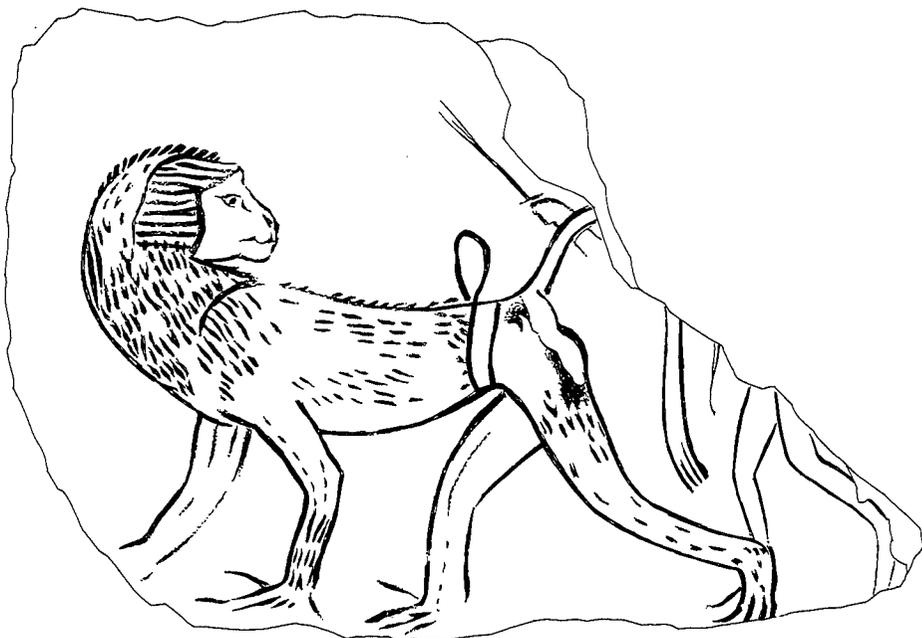
21. EGA 4751-1943



22. EGA 4292-1943



23. EGA 4293-1943



23. EGA 4293-1943



24. EGA 4289-1943 (recto)



24. EGA 4289-1943 (recto)



24. EGA 4289-1943 (verso)



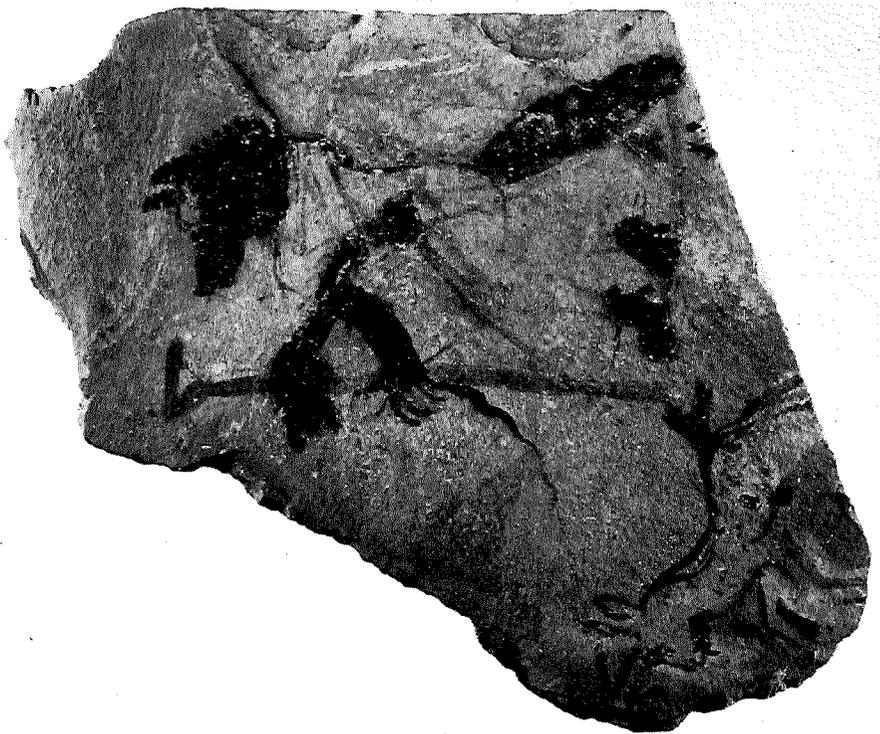
24. EGA 4289-1943 (verso)



25. EGA 3859-1943



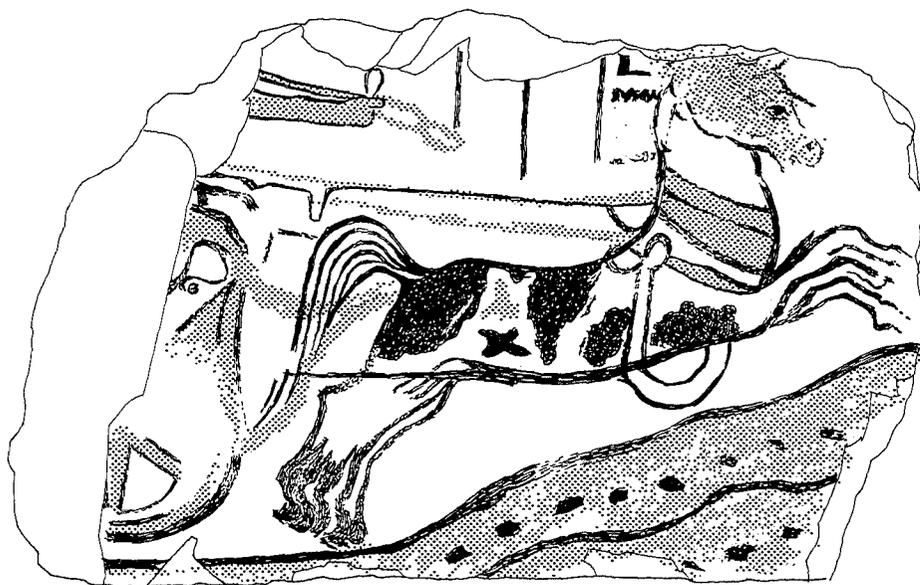
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26. EGA 4291 - 1943



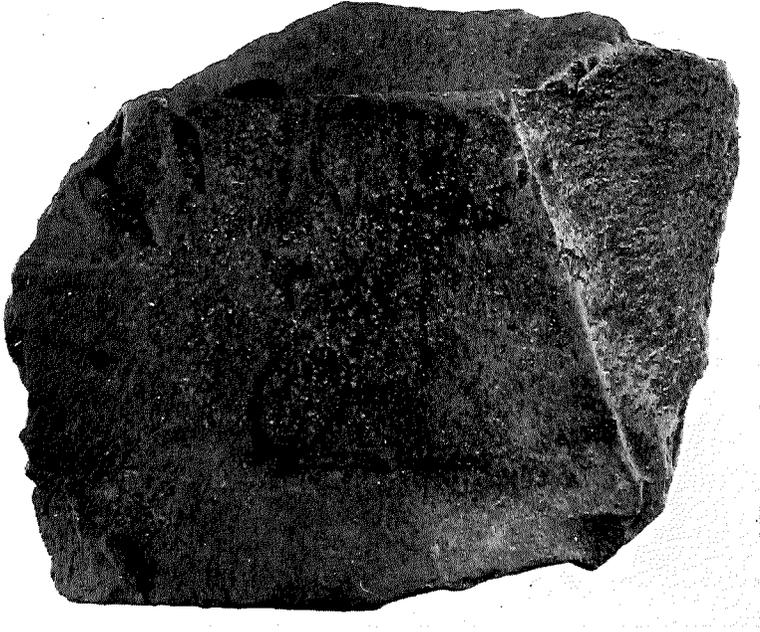
27. EGA 4287-1943



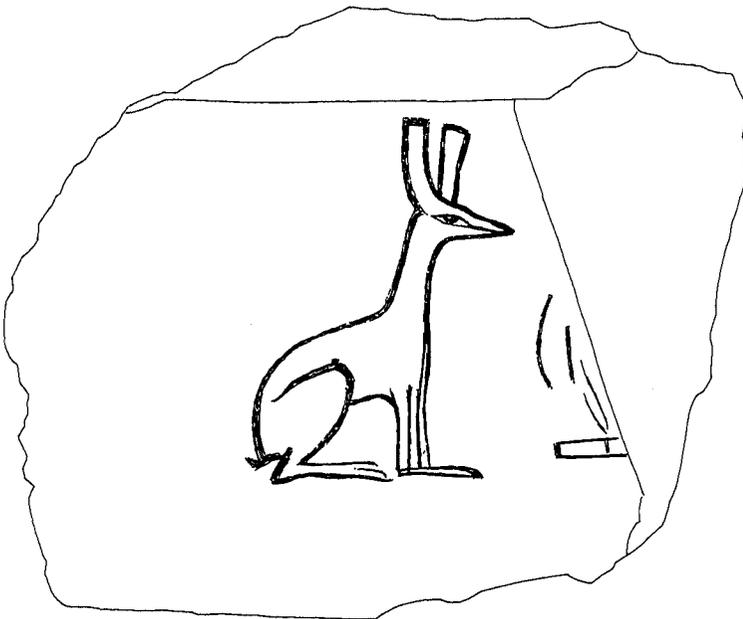
27. EGA 4287-1943



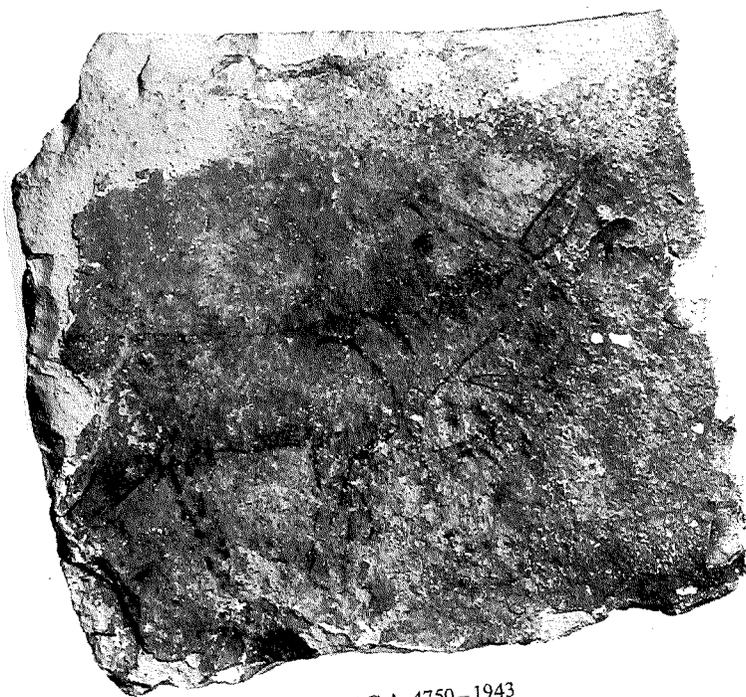
28. EGA 4552-1943



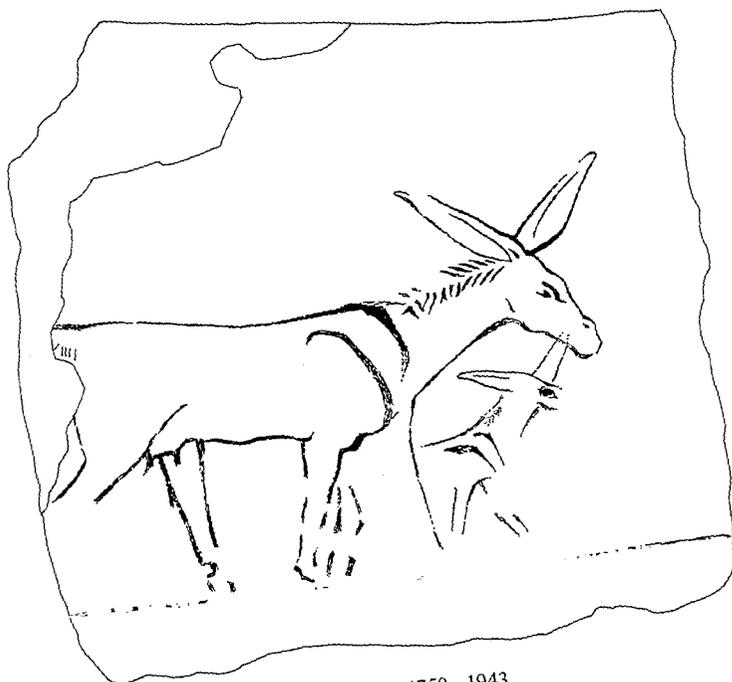
29. EGA 4300-1943



29. EGA 4300-1943



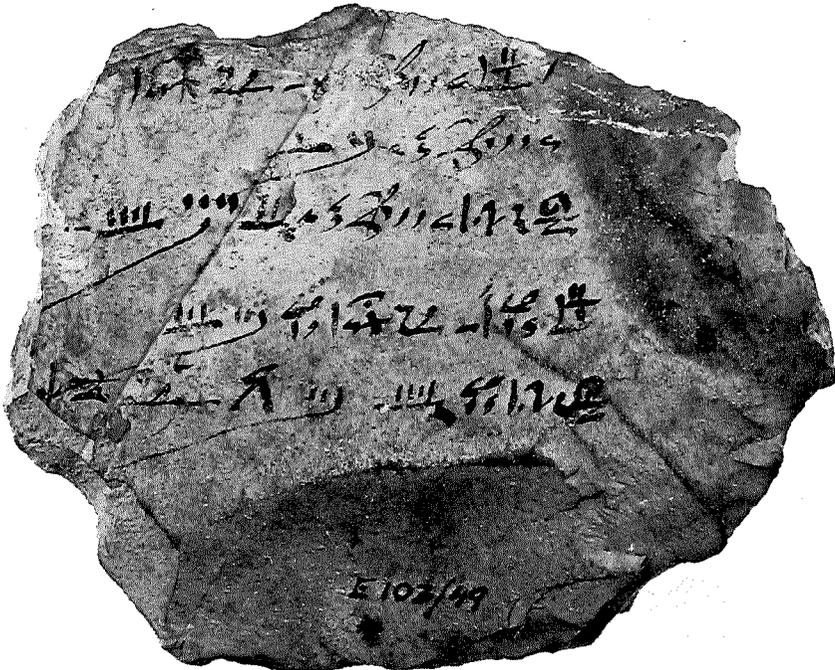
30. EGA 4750-1943



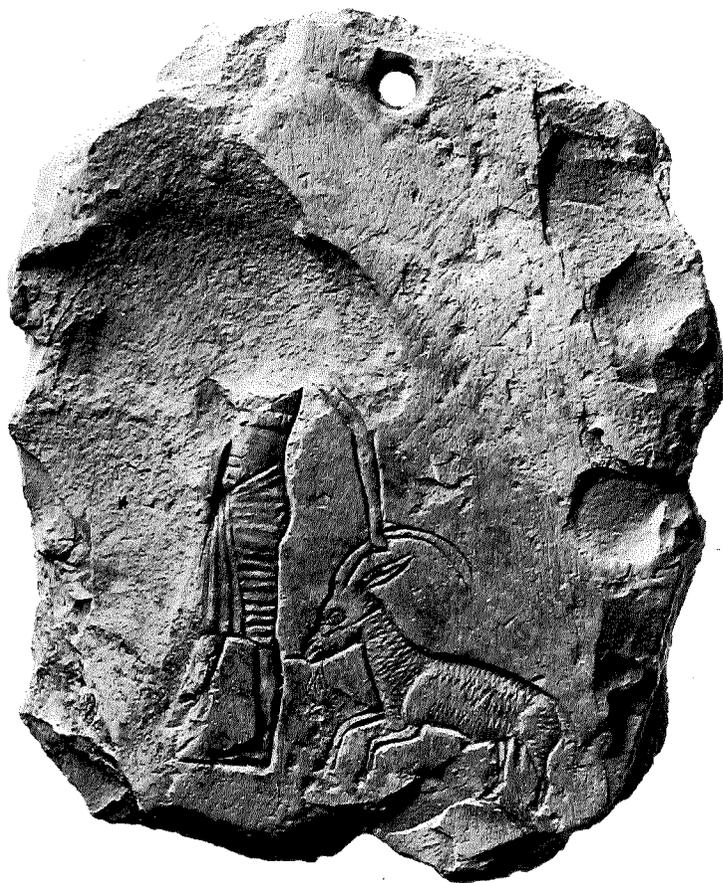
30. EGA 4750-1943



31. EGA 103-1949 (recto)



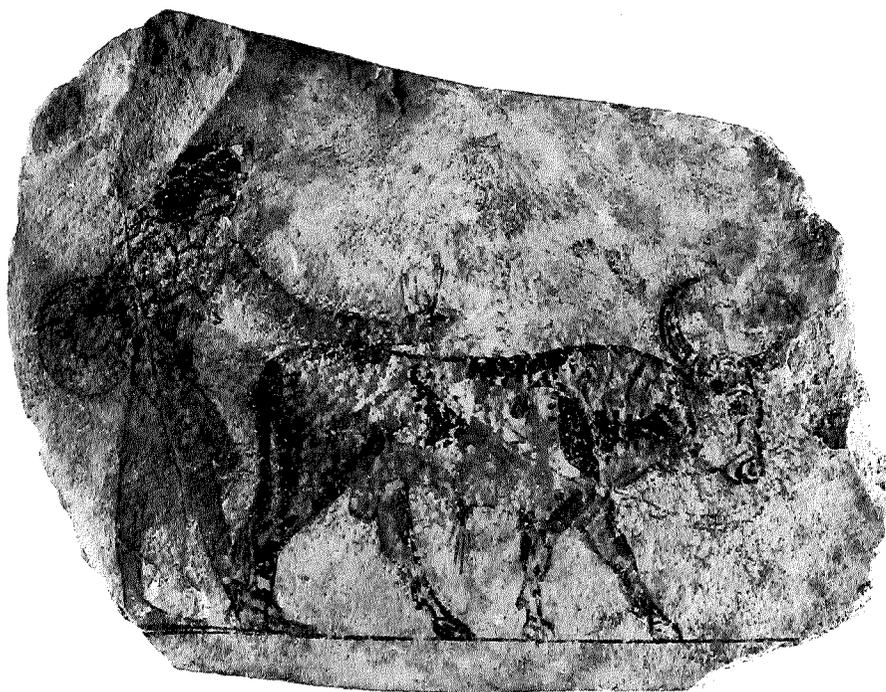
31. EGA 103-1949 (verso)



32. EGA 4553-1943



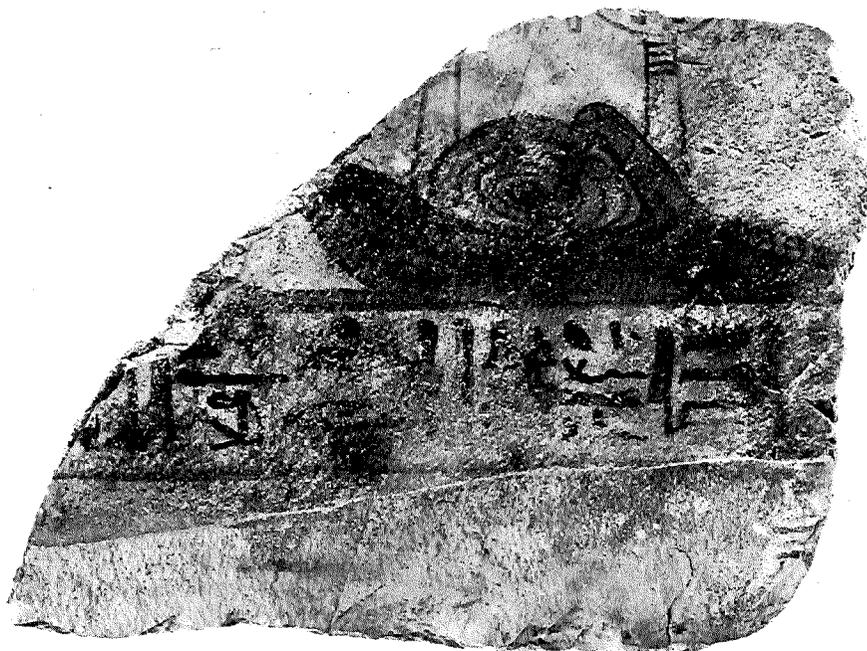
33. EGA 4297-1943



34. EGA 4288-1943



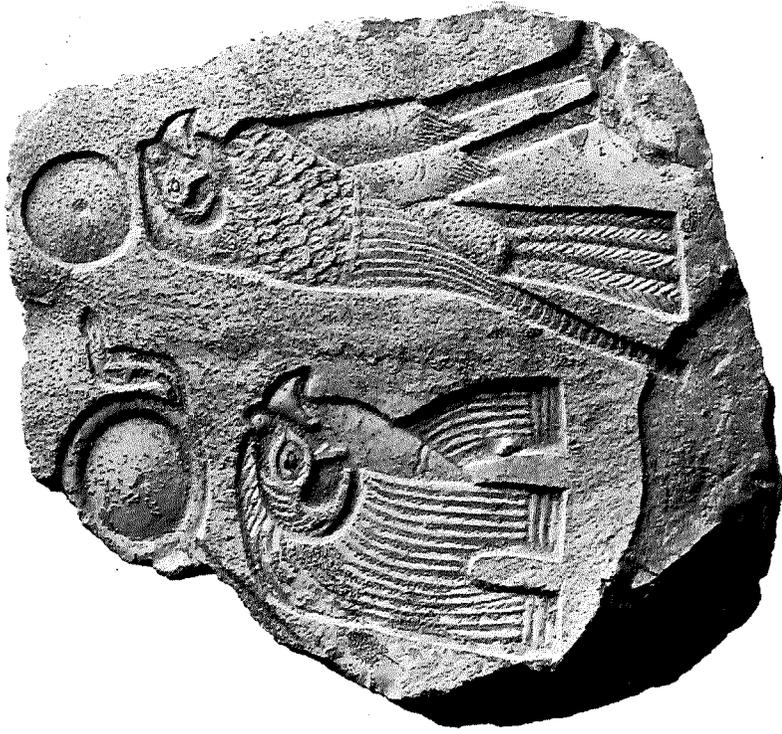
34. EGA 4288-1943



35. EGA 4755-1943



35. EGA 4755-1943



37. EGA 3062-1943



36. EGA 3858-1943 (recto)  
(for verso see No. 43).



38. EGA 3126-1943 (recto)  
(for verso see No. 45).



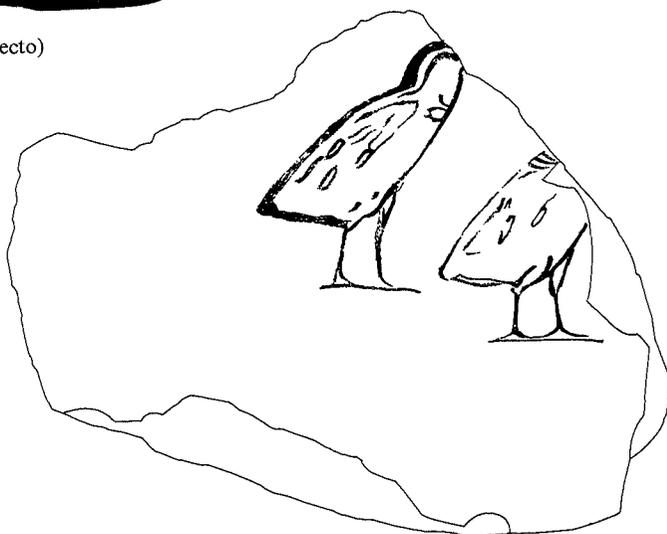
39. EGA 3141-1943 (recto)



40. EGA 3221-1943



41. EGA 4761-1943 (recto)



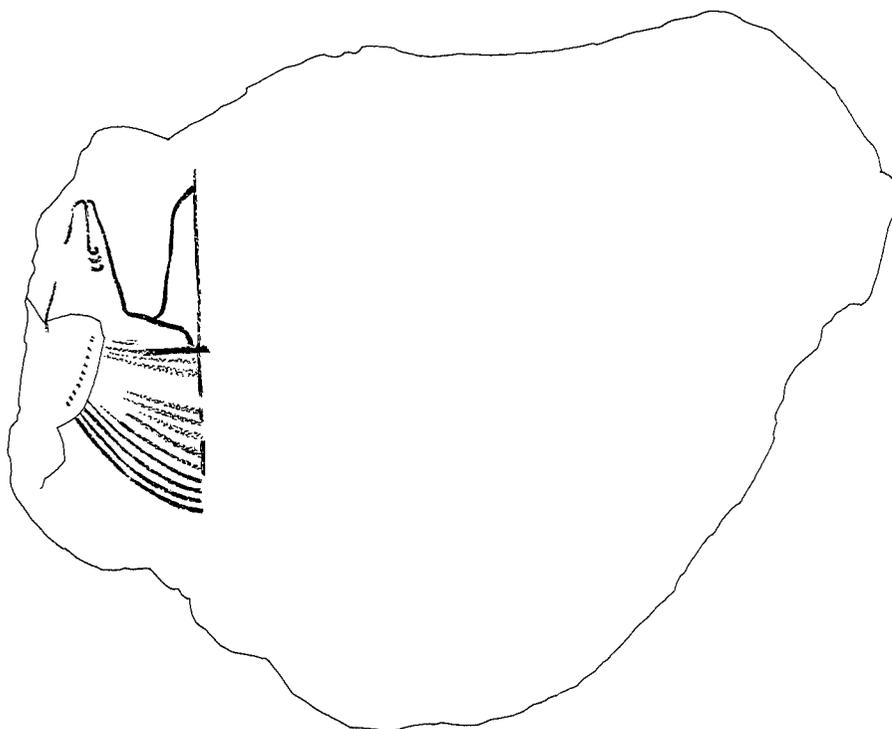
41. EGA 4761-1943 (recto)



41. EGA 4761-1943 (verso)



42. EGA 4758-1943



42. EGA 4758-1943



43. EGA 3858-1943 (verso)  
(for recto see No. 36).



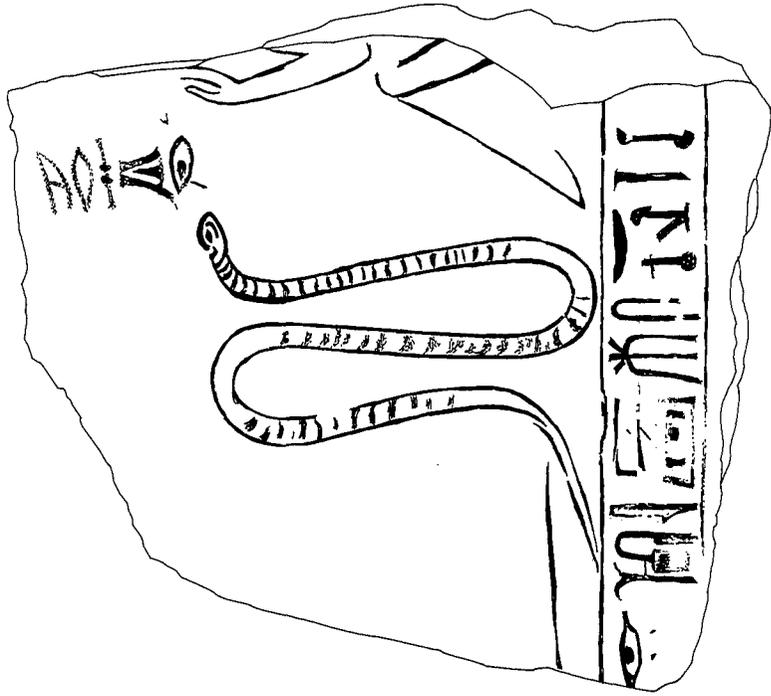
44. EGA 3120-1943 (recto)



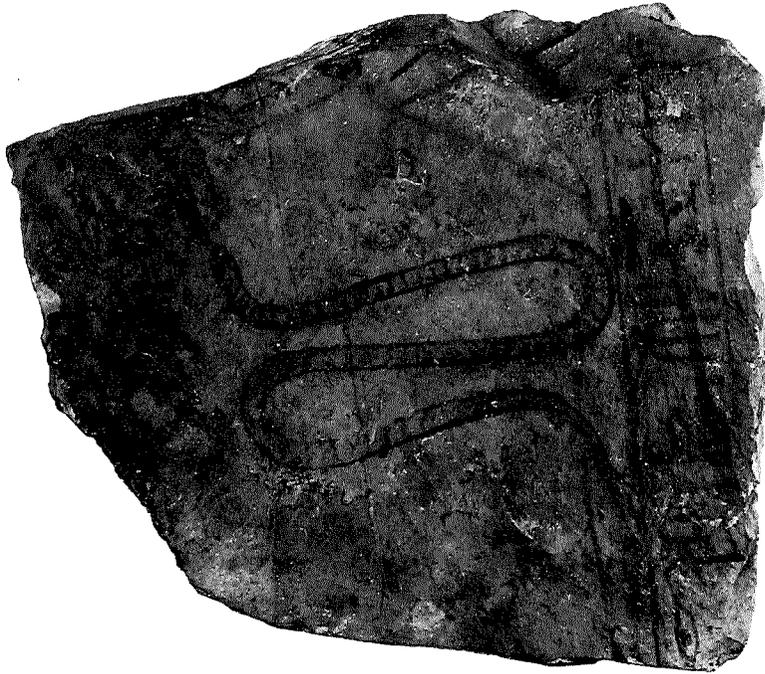
44. EGA 3120-1943 (verso)



45. EGA 3126-1943 (verso)  
(for recto see No. 38).



46. EGA 4324-1943 (verso)



46. EGA 4324-1943 (verso)  
(for recto see No. 14)



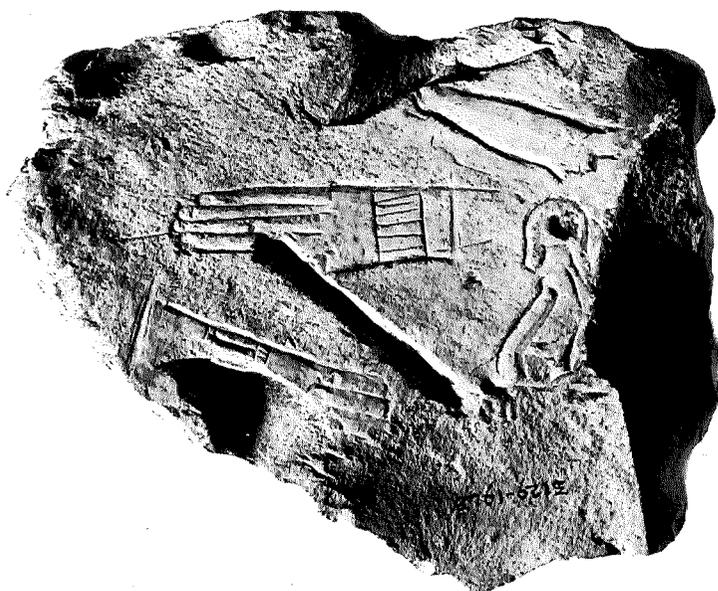
48. EGA 104-1949



47. EGA 288-1949



49. EGA 3129-1943 (recto)



49. EGA 3129-1943 (verso)